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Selections.

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN, OF INDIANA,

Delivered in the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., March 18, 1864.

[The House having under consideration the bill reported from the Committee on Public Lands amendatory of the homestead law, together with the amendments thereto, Mr. JULIAN said:]

MR. SPEAKER: During the past month I prepared and reported from the Committee on Public Lands a bill to provide homesteads for persons in the military and naval service of the United States, on the forfeited and confiscated lands of rebels. The bill was re-committed and printed; and my purpose was to discuss its provisions under the general call of committees for reports, which will bring the subject directly before the House for its action. I find, however, in the crowded state of our business, that this would delay my purpose indefinitely; and I have therefore concluded to avail myself of the opportunity now offered to submit what I have to say.

The measure referred to will be considered a novel one, but it should not therefore be regarded with surprise or disfavor. Our country is in a novel condition. The civil war in which we are engaged is one of the grandest novelties the world has ever seen. We are every day brought face to face with new questions, and compelled to accept the new duties which lie in our path. Whosoever comprehends this crisis, and is willing to assume its burdens, must keep step to the march of events, and turn his back upon the past.

The bill I have reported, however, is less a novelty in its principles, than in their application to new and unlooked-for conditions. It involves, among other things, the policy of free homesteads to actual settlers; and since this policy is now seriously menaced, I may be allowed to refer briefly to the subject, by way of preface to what I shall have to say on the special matter before us.

Our homestead law was approved May the 20th, 1862. Its enactment was a long delayed but magnificent triumph of freedom and free labor over the Slave Power. While that power ruled the government its success was impossible. By recognizing the dignity of labor and the equal rights of the million, it threatened the very life of the oligarchy which had so long stood in its way. The slaveholders understood this perfectly; and hence they resisted it, reinforced by their Northern allies, with all the zeal and desperation with which they resisted "abolitionism" itself. Its final success is among the blessed compensations of the bloody conflict in which we are plunged. This policy takes for granted the notorious fact that our public lands have practically ceased to be a source of revenue. It recognizes the evils of land monopoly on the public domain, as well as in the old States, and looks to its settlement and improvement as the true aim and highest good of the Republic. It disowns, as iniquitous, the principle which would tax our landless poor men a dollar and a quarter per acre for the privilege of cultivating the earth; for the privilege of making it a subject of taxation, a source of national revenue, and a home for themselves and their little ones. It assumes, to use the words of Gen. Jackson, that "the wealth and strength of a country are its population," and that "the best part of that population are the cultivators of the soil." This bold and heroic statesman urged this policy thirty-two years ago; and had it then been adopted, coupled with adequate guards against the greed of speculators, millions of landless men who have since gone down to their graves in the weary conflict with poverty and hardship, would have been cheered and blest with independent homes on the public domain. Wealth incalculable, quarried from the mountains and wrung from the forests and prairies of the West, would have poured into the Federal coffers. The question of slavery in our national territories would have found a peaceful solution in the steady advance and sure empire of free labor, whilst slavery in its strongholds, girdled by free institutions, might have been content to die a natural death, instead of ending its godless career in an infernal leap at the nation's throat.

The Homestead act did not go into effect till the first of January, 1863. Within four months from that date, notwithstanding the troubled state of the country, more than a million of acres were taken up under its provisions; and at the close of the year ending September the 30th, this amount was increased to nearly a million and a half. Peace will soon revisit the land and resurrect the nation to a new life. The energy and activity of the people, now directed to the business of war, will be dedicated afresh to industrial pursuits. Many thousands in the loyal States who will have caught the spirit of travel and adventure, and far greater multitudes in the Old World who will be tempted to our shores, will lay hold of the Homestead law as their glad refuge and sure help. It will be the day-star of hope to millions beyond the sea, and it is now the fond child of the millions of our own people who march under the old flag of our fathers. Should it stand for ten years to come, its blessings will outstrip the most sanguine anticipations of its friends. Its overthrow, I have said, is threatened; and this is done by indirection, as well as by open assault. Since the date of its passage, Congress has granted nearly seven million of acres for the benefit of agricultural colleges, and about twenty million to aid in the construction of railroads. There are now pending before Congress bills making other grants for railroads amounting to nearly seventy million of acres. We have a project before us which grants nearly seven million of acres for the education of children of soldiers; another, granting two hundred thousand acres in the State of Michigan for the establishment of female colleges, which of course would be extended to the other States; and another, granting ten million of acres for the establishment of Normal schools for young ladies. Every day witnesses the birth of new projects, by which our public lands may be frittered away, and the beneficent policy of the Homestead law mutilated and destroyed. And simultaneously with the development of this backward movement, and as if to aid it, speculators are hovering over the public domain, picking and culling large tracts of the best lands, and thus cheating the government out of their productive wealth, and the poor man out of the home which else might be his at the end of the war. Whilst the Homestead policy is thus invaded by gradual approaches and indirect attack, its overthrow is boldly demanded as a financial necessity. A veteran public journalist, and one of the foremost party leaders of our times, proposes to go back from the Christian dispensation of free homes and actual settlement to the Jewish darkness of land speculators and public plunder. He wants money to pay our immense national debt, and seeks to obtain it by levying on the lands which the nation has already dedicated by law to occupancy and cultivation as the sure means of revenue. What we want and the government needs is immigration. This is demonstrated by the report of Hon. Samuel B. Ruggles to the International Congress which met at Berlin in last September. He takes the eight food-producing States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri, and shows that between the years 1850 and 1860 their population increased 3,554,095 of whom a very large proportion were emigrants from the old States and from Europe. He shows that this influx of population increased the quantity of improved land in these States, within the same period, 25,146,054 acres; that the cereal products of these States increased 248,210,028 bushels; that their swine increased 2,503,224; their cattle 2,831,098. He further shows that within the same period the assessed value of real and personal estate of these States was augmented $2,810,000,000. These, to a great extent, are the direct results of immigration; and in the light of these facts the interest and duty of the government are palpable. By all honorable and reasonable means it should tempt Europe to send her people to our shores. From 1850 to 1860 the immigration averaged, annually, 270,762 giving a total of 5,062,414. Within the next ten years, should the Homestead policy continue, the number of immigrants will far transcend all precedent, while increasing multitudes from our older States will join in the grand procession towards the West. If Thurlow Weed wishes to use the public domain in paying our national debt, here is the process. It is simply to give heed to the divine injunction to "multiply and replenish the earth." It is to give homes to the millions who need them, and at the same time coin their labor into national wealth, by marrying it to the virgin soil which woos the cultivator. It is to compel the earth to yield up her fruits, so that commerce may transmute them into silver and gold. Thus only can we solve the problem of our finances, so far as the public lands are concerned. The project of paying a debt of three thousand million of dollars, or even the interest on it, by the *sale* of these lands, is sublimely ridiculous; whilst the proposition to repeal the Homestead law is a proposition to encourage speculation, to plunder the government, to betray the just rights of millions by violating the plighted faith of the nation, to hinder the march of civilization, and to weaken the force of our example as a Republic, asserting equal rights and equal laws as the basis of its policy.

But I pass from this topic. I have adverted to it, partly because I desired to sound the alarm of danger in the ears of the people, and thus avert its approach, and partly because the considerations I have presented bear directly upon the measure now before the House.

Mr. Speaker, this rebellion has frequently, and very justly, been styled a Slaveholders Rebellion. It is likewise a landholders rebellion, for the chief owners of slaves have been the chief owners of land. Probably three-fourths, if not five-sixths of the lands in the rebel States at the beginning of the war belonged to the slaveholders, who constituted only about one fiftieth part of the whole population of those States; whilst of the entire landed estate of the three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders of the South, at least two-thirds belonged to less than one-third of their number. I make my calculations from our census tables, and such other information as I find within my reach. The bill I have reported therefore contemplates no general seizure and confiscation of the property of the people in the insurrectionary districts. It looks to no sweeping measures against the rights of the masses, but simply to the breaking up and distribution of vast monopolies, which have made the few the virtual owners of the multitude, whether white or black. It is a bill to restore the people to their inalienable rights, by chastising the traitors who conspired against the government. It proposes to vest in the United States the lands which may be forfeited by confiscation in punishment of treason, or of other crimes under municipal laws; by confiscation as a right of war, by military seizure, or by process *in rem;* and by sales for nonpayment of taxes. The *quantity* of real estate which will thus pass from the hands of rebels cannot now be definitely determined, but in seeking to estimate it we should bear in mind one important consideration. The war which the rebels are waging against us is no longer a mere insurrection. It is not a grand national riot, but a civil, territorial war between them and the United States. Having taken their stand outside of the Constitution, and rested their cause on the naked ground of lawless might, they have, of necessity, no constitutional rights. For them the Constitution has ceased to exist. They are belligerents, enemies of the United States. They still owe allegiance to the government, and are still traitors, but they are at the same time public enemies, who have simply the rights of war, and are to be dealt with according to the laws of war. The rights of war and the rights of peace cannot coexist in the hands of rebels. One party to a contract cannot violate it, and yet hold the other bound; and hence the Constitution has nothing whatever to do with our treatment of the rebels, unless we shall see fit voluntarily to waive the rights of war, and deal with them as citizens merely. I am not now uttering my own opinion, but the solemn judgment of the Nation itself, speaking authoritatively through the highest court in the Union. According to the decision of that court a civil war between the United States and the rebels has been carried on for more than two years and a half. In the celebrated prize cases decided last Spring, and reported in 2, Black's Reports, p. 635, Judge Grier says, "the parties to a civil war are in the same predicament as two nations who engage in a contest, and have recourse to arms"; that "a civil war exists, and may be prosecuted, on the same footing as if those opposing the government were foreign invaders, whenever the regular course of justice is interrupted by revolt, rebellion, or insurrection, so that the courts cannot be kept open"; and that "the present civil war between the United States and the so-called Confederate States has such a character and magnitude as to give the United States the same rights and powers which they might exercise in the case of a national or foreign war." Such, Mr. Speaker, is the law as to the relations existing between the rebels and the United States. I am not arguing the point, because all argument is closed by this decision. The rebels are beligerents, and when they shall be effectually vanquished, they will have simply the rights of a conquered people under the law of nations, that is to say, such rights as we shall choose to grant them, according to the laws of war, untrammelled by the Constitution of the United States.

In the light of this settled principle, Mr. Speaker, I judge of the extent of rebel territory which must fall under our control. The war will increase in intensity and fierceness to the end. The exasperation of the rebels will naturally keep pace with our successes. Our war policy, which has been steadily growing more and more earnest and radical for the past two years, will not again become a "war on peace principles." The amnesty proclamation may reach the case of many, but should it reach even all who are not expressly excepted by its terms, there will still be an immense territory falling under our power. Sir, whether we have willed it or not, this is now a war of *subjugation*, and the law of nations must govern the parties and the settlement of the dispute. We shall not be confined to the penal enactments of Congress on the subject of treason, which require an indictment, a regular trial, and a conviction. The condemnation of rebel property need not depend upon the prosecution of its owner through a grand jury, who may be wholly or in part secessionists, nor upon his conviction by a petit jury of like character, nor upon the finding of a bill within any statute of limitations. Resting our case on the law of nations and the laws of war, we are not compelled to seek the land of the rebel through a trial which must be had in the County in which the offence was committed, and in which both court and jury may be in sympathy with the accused. The several penal acts of Congress on these subjects, and the ordinary safeguards of law applicable to the rights of citizens in a time of peace, are not in our way. The war powers of the government, as asserted and defined in the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th sections of the confiscation act of July 17, 1862, point to a remedy as sweeping as it is just, namely, the military seizure, condemnation, and sale of the real estate of traitors and their abettors. A considerable quantity of land, it is true, may pass from the rebels by judicial proceedings against them for treason, and other crimes under municipal statutes. I know, too, that millions of acres must be forfeited by the non-payment of taxes. But independent of these sources of title, and by virtue of military seizure and condemnation alone, a very large proportion of the lands within the insurrectionary districts must vest in the government of the United States.

If it be said that the government has no right to confiscate the fee simple of rebel States, I meet it with a direct denial. In what I have said, I have taken this right for granted. I have never doubted it for a moment, and I shall not now argue the question. The honest refusal of the President, in last June, to allow Congress to touch the fee of rebels in arms against the nation, was the saddest and grandest mistake of his life. That the right to do so was disputed and debated in the last Congress, as it has been extensively in this, by some of our wisest statesmen and greatest lawyers, will hereafter be set down among the political curiosities of this century. Our fathers were not fools, but wise men, who armed the nation with the power to crush its foes, as well as to protect its friends. "The Constitution was made for the people, not the people for the Constitution." It was not designed as a shield in the hands of traitors, but as a sword in the hands of the government to smite them to the earth. It recognizes the law of nations and the laws of war, nor was it possible for our country to escape them. The builders of our national ship did not so fashion and rig her that she could sail only in calm weather and over smooth seas, but they qualified her to ride out the fiercest tempest in safety, and to defy all pirates. That the nation, in this struggle for its life against red-handed traitors and assassins, has no power to confiscate their lands, is a proposition which gives comfort to every rebel sympathizer in the country, while it insults both loyalty and common sense. The people know better, and on this question their voice must be heeded. They do not believe, but they *know*, that the lands of rebels are subject to our power under the laws of war, as well as their personal property, their negroes, or their lives. The government, in the course of this struggle, has learned many lessons. Others are yet to be mastered. Having learned how to strike at slavery as the wicked cause of the war, and to arm the negroes in the national defence, it must now lay hold of the lands of rebels. I believe our triumph over them is not so near at hand as we generally suppose. The most terrific fighting of the war is yet to come. They do not dream of surrender, or compromise, on any conceivable terms. They will resist us, to the end, with a spirit as remorseless as death, and as bitter as the ashes of hell. They must be overcome and crushed by the powers of war, and we must employ, with all the might which can be kindled by the crisis, every weapon known to the law of nations. Congress must repeal the joint resolution of last year which protects the fee of rebel landholders. The President, as I am well advised, now stands ready to join us in such action. Should we fail to do this the courts must so interpret the joint resolution as to make its repeal needless. Should both Congress and the courts stand in the way of the nation's life, then "the red lightning of the people's wrath" must consume the recreant men who refuse to execute the popular will. Our country, united and free, must be saved, at whatever hazard or cost; and nothing, not even the Constitution, must be allowed to hold back the uplifted arm of the government, in blasting the power of the rebels forever.

I come then, Mr. Speaker, to the practical question involved in this bill. This conflict is to be ended by hard, desperate, and perhaps protracted fighting. We shall certainly win; and our triumph will inevitably divest the title to a vast body of land in the rebel States, and place it under our control. I think it entirely safe to conclude that it will constitute more than half, and probably three-fourths, of all the cultivated lands in the rebellious districts. It will certainly, in any event, cover many millions of acres. It will include all lands against which proceedings *in rem* shall be instituted, under the provisions of the act to suppress insurrections, and to punish treason and rebellion, approved July 17th, 1862; all lands which may be sold under the provisions of the act for the collection of direct taxes in insurrectionary districts, approved June 7th, 1862; and all lands which may be sold under the provisions of the act to provide internal revenue to support the government, approved July 1st of the same year.

What shall be done with these immense estates, brought within our power by the acts of rebels? One of two policies, radically antagonistic, must be accepted. They must be allowed to fall into the hands of speculators, and become the basis of new and frightful monopolies, or they must be placed under the jurisdiction of the government, in trust for the people. The alternative is now presented, and presses upon us for a speedy decision. Under the laws of Congress now in force, unchecked by counter legislation, these lands will be purchased and monopolized by men who care far more for their own mercenary gains than for the real progress and glory of our country. Instead of being parceled out into small homesteads, to be titled by their own independent owners, they will be bought in large tracts, and thus not only deprive the great mass of landless laborers of the opportunity of acquiring homes, but place them at the mercy of the lords of the soil. The old order of things will be swept away, but a new order, scarcely less to be deplored, will succeed. In place of the slaveholding land-owner of the South, lording it over hundreds of slaves and thousands of acres, we shall have the grasping monopolist of the North, whose dominion over the freedmen and poor whites will be more galling than slavery itself, which in some degree tempers its despotism through the interest of the tyrant in the health and welfare of his victims. The maxim of the slaveholder that "capital should own labor," will be as frightfully exemplified under the system of wages slavery, the child of land monopoly, as under the system of chattel slavery, which has so long scourged the Southern States. What we should demand is a policy that will guarantee homes to the loyal millions who need them, and thus guard their most precious rights and interests against the remorseless exactions of capital and the pitiless rapacity of avarice. The helpless condition of the poor of the rebel States, when capitalists shall have monopolized the land, is already foreshadowed in the recent report of Mr. Yeatman, of the Western Sanitary Commission. He says:

"The poor negroes are everywhere greatly oppressed at their condition. They all testify that if they were only paid their little wages as they earn them, so that they could purchase clothing, and furnished with the provisions promised, they could stand it; but to work and get poorly paid, poorly fed, and not doctored when sick, is more than they can endure. Among the thousands whom I questioned none showed the least unwillingness to work. If they could only be paid fair wages they would be contented and happy. They do not realize that they are free men. They say that they are told they are, but then they are taken and hired out to men who treat them, so far as providing for them is concerned, far worse than their 'secesh' masters did. Besides this, they feel that their pay or hire is lower now than it was when the 'secesh' used to hire them.

"The parties leasing plantations and employing these negroes do it from no motives either of loyalty or humanity. The desire of gain alone prompts them, and they care little whether they make it out of the blood of those they employ, or from the soil. There are, of course, exceptions; but I am informed that the majority of the lessees were only adventurers, camp followers, 'army sharks,' as they are termed, who have turned aside from what they consider their legitimate prey, the poor soldier, to gather the riches of the land which his prowess has laid open to them. I feel that the fathers and brothers and friends of these brave men should have an opportunity to reap, under a more equitable system for the laborer, the reward of the months of toil and exposure it has cost to open this country to the institutions of freedom and compensated labor. If these plantations were required to be subdivided into parcels or tracts, to suit the views and means of our Western men, say in farms of from one to two hundred acres, thousands would soon flock to the South to lease them, especially when it was known that one acre of ground there cultivated in cotton would yield, in dollars, ten times as much as at home. Besides, this subdivision would attract a *loyal* population, who would protect the country against any guerilla bands that might infest it."

Mr. Speaker, the poor whites of the South will be as powerless to take care of themselves as the freedmen, unless the government shall arm them against their masters. "Subdivision" of the land, as Mr. Yeatman says, would also secure a loyal population, since every man who has a home to love and to defend will naturally love his country. This rebellion will present the strongest temptations to land monopoly that were ever offered to the greed of avarice and power. The rich lands of the South have been cursed by this evil from the beginning, and without the interposition of Congress the *system* will be continued and vitalized anew by falling into fresh hands. The degraded and thriftless condition of the people, the heritage of centuries of bondage, will pave the way for land monopoly in more grievous forms than have yet been recorded in ancient or modern times. Society cannot possibly be organized on a Republican basis, because a grinding aristocracy, resting upon large landed estates, will convert the mass of the people into mere drudges and dependents. African slavery may not exist in name, but the few will practically control the fortunes of the many, irrespective of color or race. In such communities public improvements will necessarily languish. Wasteful and slovenly farming will stamp upon the country the impress of dilapidation, while reducing the productiveness of the soil, and hindering the growth of manufactures and commerce. In the midst of large landed estates, towns and villages can neither be multiplied nor enjoy a healthy growth. The want of diversity of pursuits and competition in business will palsy the energies of the people. The education of the masses will be impossible, since the establishment and support of schools within convenient reach of the people cannot be secured. The proprietors of the great estates, as has been well remarked, will be feudal lords, while the poor will have no feudal rights. Under the tendency of a false system, society will steadily gravitate towards the example of South America and Mexico, where some estates are larger than two or three of the smaller States of our Union. The country will find its likeness in England, in which the smaller landholders are daily being swallowed up by the larger.

"In the civilized world," says Dr. Channing, "there are few sadder spectacles than the present contrast in Great Britain of unbounded wealth and luxury, with the starvation of thousands and tens of thousands, crowded into cellars and dens, without ventilation or light, compared with which the wigwam of the Indian is a palace. Misery, famine, brutal degradation, in the neighborhood and presence of stately mansions, which ring with gaiety, and dazzle with pomp and unbounded profusion, shock us as does no other wretchedness."

Sir, the sympathy of the British aristocracy for the rebels is altogether natural. Land monopoly *is* slavery. The great English landlord looks upon the large slaveholders of the South as "brothers beloved," while the "sand-billers" and "clay-eaters" of Carolina and Georgia are perhaps not more miserably degraded by unjust laws than the English agricultural laborer. Mr. Bancroft, describing the condition of Italy some two thousand years ago, says:

"The aristocracy owned the soil and its cultivators. The vast capacity for accumulation which the laws of society secure to capital in a greater degree than to personal exertion, displays itself nowhere so clearly as in slaveholding States, where the laboring class is but a portion of the capital of the opulent. As wealth consists chiefly in land and slaves, the rates of interest are, from universally operative causes, always comparatively high: the difficulty of advancing with borrowed capital proportionally great. The small landholder finds himself unable to compete with those who are possessed of whole cohorts of bondmen; his slaves, his lands, rapidly past, in consequence of his debts, into the hands of the more opulent. The large plantations are continually swallowing up the smaller ones; and land and slaves come to be engrossed by a few."

This is not only an exact description of slavery as we have seen it in the Southern States, but a parallel in principle to the system of aristocracy in England, founded on the monopoly of the soil. Travellers through that country speak of it as "thinly settled." Outside of the cities and towns this is true. Even the commons, on which the poor used to pasture their cattle and enjoy their games, are now enclosed by legalized land robbers. Those who demand a correction of these evils, in the name of justice and the people, are denounced as "Agrarians," just as the enemies of slavery in this country are branded as "Abolitionists." The slaveholding land monopolists of this country are to-day reaping the bitter fruits of their unrighteous domination. A retribution to the aristocracy of England, not less terrible, is as certain to come as that pampered injustice finds no limits to its demands.

But I need not dwell longer upon the evils of land monopoly. The history of civilization furnishes an unbroken testimony to these evils, and thus pleads with us, in the organization of new civil communities, to fortify ourselves against them. A grand opportunity now presents itself for recognizing the principles of radical democracy in the establishment of new and regenerated States. We are summoned by every consideration of patriotism, humanity, and republicanism to lay the foundations of empire upon the enduring basis of justice and equal rights. No revolutionary or destructive measures are required on our part. We are already in the midst of revolution and chaos. Through no fault of our own, the foundations of social and political order in the rebel States are subverted, and the elimination of a great disturbing element opens up our pathway to the establishment of free Christian commonwealths on the ruins of the past. These States constitute one of the fairest portions of the globe. They are larger in area than all the free States of the North. They have a sea and gulf coast of more than six thousand miles in extent, and are drained by more than fifty navigable rivers, which are never closed to navigation by the rigor of the climate. They have at least as rich a soil as the States of the North, yielding great wealth-producing staples peculiar to them, and two or three crops in the year. They have a finer climate, and their agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial advantages are decidedly superior. Their geographical position is better, as respects the great commercial centres of the world. The institution of slavery, which has so long cursed these regions by excluding emigration, degrading labor, and impoverishing the soil, will very soon be expelled. The cry which already comes up from these lands is for free laborers. If we offer them free homesteads, and protect their rights, they will come. John Bright, in a recent speech at Birmingham, estimates that within the past year 150,000 people have sailed from England to New York. Let it be settled that slavery is dead, and that the estates of traitors in the South can be had under the provisions of the Homestead law, and foreign emigration will be quadrupled, if not augmented ten fold. Millions in the Old World, hungering and thirsting after the righteousness of free institutions, will flock to the sunny South, and mingle there with the swarms of our own people in pursuit of new homes under kindlier skies. Immigration has not slackened, even during this war, and in determining the direction it will take it must be remembered that settlements have very nearly reached their limits in the North and West. Kansas and Nebraska are border States, and must so continue. Their storms, and draughts, and desert plains give a pretty distinct hint that the emigrant must seek his Eldorado in latitudes further South. In the new North-western States the richest lands have been purchased, and vast portions of them locked up by speculators. Their distance from the great markets for their produce, and their severe Winters, will also check emigration in that direction, and incline it further South, if lands can be procured there with tolerable facility. The rebel States not only abound in cheap and fertile land, with cheap labor in the persons of the freedmen to assist in its cultivation, but they possess great mineral resources. They have also extensive lines of railroads, which, in connection with their great rivers, bring almost every portion of their territory into communication with the sea.

Mr. Speaker, nothing can atone for the woes and sorrows of this war but the thorough reorganization of society in these revolted States. Now is the time to begin this work. We must not only cut up slavery, root and branch, but we must see to it that these teeming regions shall be studded over with small farms and tilled by free men. We must remember that "the best way to help the poor is to enable them to help themselves." We must guard the equal rights of the people, for "Christianity is the root of all democracy, the highest fact in the rights of man." Labor must be rendered honorable and gainful, by securing to the laborer the fruits of his toil. Instead of the spirit of Caste and the law of Hate, which have so long blasted these regions, we must build up homogeneous communities, in which the interest of each will be recognized as the interest of all. Instead of an overshadowing aristocracy, founded on the monopoly of the soil, and its dominion over the poor, we must have no order of nobility but that of the laboring masses of the country, who fight its battles in war, and constitute its glory and its strength in peace. Instead of large estates, widely scattered settlements, wasteful agriculture, popular ignorance, political and social degradation, the decay of literature, the decline of manufactures and the arts, contempt for honest labor, and a pampered aristocracy, we must have small farms, closely associated communities, thrifty tillage, free schools, social independence, a healthy literature, flourishing manufactures and mechanic arts, respect for honest labor, and equality of political rights. These ends, to a great extent, are provided for by the bill I have introduced, and no measure of more vital interest to the people has ever been submitted to the Congress of the United States. I voted for the bill which has passed this House, providing for a Bureau of Emancipation, but I must regard this measure as a far better "freedman's bill" than that of my honorable friend from Massachusetts, for it provides for the emancipation of all races, and the freedom of labor itself. These regions, blighted by treason, must be cared for, or abandoned, by the General government. The heavendaring conspiracy of rebels in arms has placed them, or will place them, at our feet. Shall we hand them over to the speculator, in the hope of thereby securing a revenue to pay our national debt? I have shown that the true source of revenue is the cultivation of the soil. The future of these rebellious States, involving the well-being of millions for generations to come, is now committed to our hands. We can reenact over them the political and social damnation of the past, or predestinate them to the blessedness and glory of a grand and ever-unfolding future. We can build up a magnificent constellation of free commonwealths, whose territory can support a population of more than one hundred million, on the basis of free labor and a just distribution of land among the people; or we can again organize society after the pattern of Europe, and thus spare the hideous cancer, which, in the words of Chateaubriand, "has gnawed social order since the beginning of the world." Can we hesitate, in dealing with so fearful an alternative? Shall we mock the Almighty by sporting with the heaven-permitted privilege now placed before us? Shall we heap curses on our children, when blessings are within our grasp? Sir, let us prove ourselves worthy of our day and of our work. Let us rise to the full height of our sublime opportunity, and thus make ourselves, under Providence, the creators of a new dispensation of liberty and peace. Then, in the eloquent language of Solicitor Whiting, "the hills and valleys of the South, purified and purged of all the guilt of the past, clothed with a new and richer verdure, will lift up their voices in thanksgiving to the Author of all good, who has granted to them, amidst the agonies of civil war, a new birth and a glorious transfiguration. Then, the people of the North and the people of the South, will again become *one people*, united in interests, in pursuits, in intelligence, in religion, and in patriotic devotion to our common country."

As regards the particular provisions of the bill before us, I need not occupy much of the time of this House. It has been printed, and gentlemen have had the opportunity of examining it for themselves. It has been prepared with much care, and with the assistance of some of the best lawyers in the Union. The first and second sections of the bill provide the methods by which the title of rebel land owners shall vest in the United States under the acts of Congress now in force on the subject of confiscation and revenue. I shall not discuss the *power* of the government thus to acquire the title to this land, for it cannot be controverted without overturning all the legislation of the last Congress on the subject of confiscation, internal revenue, and the collection of taxes in insurrectionary districts. I have, in fact, already argued the question of power, in what I have said of our relations to the rebels as belligerents.

The third section provides for the survey of the lands in question as nearly as may be in forty acre lots. This is deemed necessary from the fact that in several of the insurrectionary districts the old system of irregular surveys exists, and not the present or rectangular system. The section also provides for the appointment of necessary officers and their compensation, and contemplates the application and use of the machinery of the General Land Office within such districts.

The fourth section gives a homestead of eighty acres to all soldiers who shall have served in the army or navy two years, and forty acres to all persons who shall have aided in the military service against the rebels for any period of time, either as soldiers or laborers. It also extends the provisions of the Homestead act of 1862 over these lands, and thus avoids any new and cumbersome regulations, and exacts a continuous residence of five years to consummate the title.

The fifth section provides that after keeping the lands open for homesteads for five years, those remaining vacant shall be sold at public sale. It prohibits the sacrifice of them by fixing a minimum price, which they must bring. It also requires the purchaser to comply with the preëmption act of 1841, prior to his receiving a patent, thus demanding a residence on the land and precluding an accumulation of it in the hands of speculators. These safeguards look to the benefit of the mass, and nott he interests of a few, even after homesteads have been selected. This section also provides that proof of loyalty shall be made by all persons claiming rights under the bill.

The sixth section, as will be seen, requires no comment. The seventh requires persons selecting improved lands to pay for whatever may be found of value on them, after an appraisement by persons regularly appointed for the purpose, and to pay the costs created by the proceeding. The effect will be that the expenses created by the act will be paid into the treasury of the United States, and may exceed the expenditures which will be connected with its operations.

The eighth section establishes an obviously just if not a necessary rule of construction as to persons of color, giving them equal rights with white men, and extends the inchoate rights of a settler to his heirs, or widow, who may complete payments and make proof.

The ninth section places the execution of the act in the Department of the Interior, or that more immediately connected with the land system; and the last section repeals all laws inconsistent with the provisions of the act. I will only add, that the act has nothing to do with real estate in towns, cities, and villages, which will, of course, continue to be sold as heretofore.

These, Mr. Speaker, are the material provisions of the bill. They embody principles which I have endeavored to vindicate, by argument and by fact. If I am right, then every moment of delay is a golden opportunity wasted forever. Under the present policy of the government every passing day bears witness to the transfer of thousands of acres of forfeited lands to speculators. According to Judge Underwood, more than two hundred million of dollars worth of property in the State of Virginia, chiefly real estate, should be confiscated by the government. Thousands of acres are now being sold in the vicinity. In September last the President of the United States issued instructions to the Tax Commissioners of South Carolina, providing for the sale of 40,845 acres, of which 24,316 acres were to be sold to the highest bidder, in tracts of 320 acres. The remainder was to be sold to the heads of African families, for such sums, not less than one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, as the government should see fit to demand. These sales are portions of a lot of 76,775 acres offered on the 9th of last March, when 16,479 acres were sold to speculators; making an aggregate of 40,795 acres, which will have been sold in large tracts, leaving for the negro only 16,479 acres which he may *buy*, if he can raise the money to pay the price fixed by the government. Such transactions as these, in Port Royal, where so much has been hoped for the freedman, are most significant. If any people have a divine right to these tropical lands, they are the slaves who have bought them, over and over, by their sweat and toil and blood, through centuries of oppression. Degraded and imbruted by servitude, mere children in knowledge and self-help, we require them to compete for their homesteads with the sharpened faculties of the white speculator, schooled in avarice by generations of money getting, who believes the Almighty Dollar is the only living and true God, and would "run into the mouth of hell after a bale of cotton." Sir, our government is false to its trust, infidel to its mission, if it shall lend its high sanction to such wanton injustice and wrong. Had I the power I would give a free home on the forfeited lands of rebels to every bondmen in the insurrectionary districts. Let the government at least give him an equal chance with our own race, in the settlement and enjoyment of his native land. Less than this would be a mockery of justice and an insult both to decency and humanity. He is excluded from the Northern States and territories by their uncongenial climate, by his attachment to his birth-place, and by Anglo-Saxon domination and enterprise. Let the government which has so long connived at his oppression now make sure to him a free homestead on the land of his oppressor. Let us deal justly with the African, and thereby lay claim to justice for ourselves. Let us remember, in the language of our patriotic Chief Magistrate, that "*We* cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass, will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. In *giving* freedom to the *slave* we *assure* freedom to the *free;* honorably alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless."

THE RICHMOND POWDER PLOT.

[The people of the North, in spite of the terrible revelations of rebel inhumanity forced upon their notice in the last three years, have not been willing to believe the story that the Confederates made preparations to blow up the Libby prison and its inmates at the time of Kilpatrick's raid. The tale, incredible and horrible as it seems, is confirmed by Gen. Neal Dow, who, in his speech to the people of Portland, says:]

THEY told us of Kilpatrick's raid. On the 1st of March arrangements were made to receive him. And what do you suppose the arrangements were? To defend Richmond? Was that it? No. They *mined Libby Prison*, with the intention of blowing up it and us; to use their own phrase, "*to blow us to hell!*" (Voice—"Is there proof of that?") That is capable of proof. I cannot tell you how the fact was intimated to us the next day without betraying those from whom the intimation came. On the morning of Wednesday, March 2, after we had been informed of the gunpowder plot, Dick Turner, the Inspector of Military Prisons, was asked by many officers, at different times, if we were correctly informed, and he assured us it was true; that a large quantity of powder had been placed under the prison, to blow us up if Kilpatrick had come in, and that it would be done yet if attempts were made to rescue us.

The Rev. Dr. Smith, President of Randolph Macon College, well known down South, and known in the North too, as an able and influential man, came into the prison to visit Lieut.-Col. Nichols, of the 18th Connecticut Regiment, with whom he was acquainted. He said that powder had been placed in the basement for the purpose of "blowing us into atoms." Col. Nichols did not believe it. Dr. Smith assured him it was so. He had then come from the office of Judge Ould, Commissioner of Exchanges, who told him it was so. The Rev. Dr. McCabe said the same thing to Col. Cesnola, of the 4th New York Cavalry, and others. Some officers were in the kitchen at the back window, directly over the door leading into the cellar. Major Turner, the commmandant of the prison—Dick Turner—and four or five rebel officers went into the cellar, and on coming out they remained a few moments at the door, and one of the officers said, "By G—d, if you touch that off it will blow them to hell, sure enough."

On the morning we came away, Major Turner assured Capt. Sawyer and Capt. Flynn, who were exchanged in connection with myself, that powder was there, and he said. "Rather than have you rescued, I would have blown you to h—, even if we had gone there ourselves." At first we could not believe it; not that we did not suppose them capable of it. We did not suppose them them to be fools enough to be guilty of an act like that. The destruction of nine hundred Union officers in that way would not have been a fatal blow to the Union cause, but it would have drawn down upon them the execrations of mankind; it would have united the Northern people as one man, and would have fired the Northern heart with an intense indignation, and when Richmond should be captured, it would have been utterly destroyed, and blotted out forever from the earth. At first we could not believe that such an act could have been contemplated, but we now regard it as established by satisfactory proof. Such is the temper of the leaders of the rebellion! Such their character!

WHY DISGUSTING?

THE Louisville *Journal* speaks of what it calls "a very disgusting thing," namely, a placard said to have been recently issued by an officer recruiting negro troops in Kentucky. *The Journal* describes this "disgusting thing":

"On the back of it are these words: 'All slaves were made freemen by Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, January 1, 1863. Come, then, able-bodied colored men, to the nearest United States camp and fight for the stars and stripes.' On the other side is an engraving of a white officer in epaulettes, pointing a sword toward the sky with his right hand and grasping with his left the staff of the American flag, inscribed 'freedom to the slave,' a nigger school-house filled and surrounded by little niggers, the nigger schoolmaster is reading a newspaper, a big nigger in coat and cap of indigo-blue striking chains from the limbs of male and female slaves, and a nigger regiment rushing after a leader, whose color is designedly undistinguishable, under a flag marked 'United States regiment colored troops.' The placard bears no name. This is the only scrap of evidence that the recruiting officer who got it up is not, whilst seeming to court shame, stone-dead to all sense of it."

The Journal ought to have explained why this placard is "disgusting." To call upon able-bodied men to fight for the stars and stripes is certainly not disgusting, except, perhaps, to the rebels at Richmond. Nor can we see anything disgusting in the promise held out by the placard, of schools, in which children shall be taught to read, or of a schoolmaster reading a newspaper, or of a man "striking chains from the limbs of male and female slaves," or of a regiment rushing to defend the flag of the Union. That an officer who holds out such inducements to persons to enter the Union armies, "courts shame," is what we cannot comprehend. We think, on the contrary, that his appeal does honor alike to him, and to the people who can be tempted to undergo hardship and face death by the mere promise of liberty for themselves and schools for their children. Unless liberty is shameful and education a disgrace, those who endeavor to spread both ought to be held in honor by their countrymen.—*Eve. Post.*

THE CRUSADE AGAINST COLOR.

THE public are already familiar with the disastrous upshot of the President's attempt to colonize colored Americans in a foreign isle. Reduced by pestilence and famine, the colonists return, after a year of untold suffering, one-eighth fewer than they went out. Viewed from the side

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 9, 1864.

☞ THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the Church of the Puritans, in New York, on Tuesday, May 10th, at 10 a.m. The Society will also hold a public meeting in the Cooper Institute on Wednesday evening, May 11th. The meetings for business will be held in the Lecture Room of the Church of the Puritans on Tuesday evening and Wednesday morning. Official notice hereafter.

THE TURNING POINT.

A CAMPAIGN of gigantic proportions and of incalculable consequences is about to open. All that has gone before has been but the preparation for the epic events of the next nine months. The resources of both parties, physical, moral and financial, have been strained to the last point of tension, and the fate of the country will hang upon the results of the battles which are soon to begin. The fate of the country, that is, in the sense of an absolutely united body of thirty-seven States (or more or less), with identical institutions, a homogeneous population, and a common career of greatness. That the energies of the American people can be killed by any possible termination of this war, and that the development of the material resources of the continent will be stayed by anything that can happen, we have no fear. But the grandeur of the scale on which these great duties of a young nation to a new continent will be done, and the effect of the doing of these duties upon the rest of the world, may be most seriously effected by the way in which this rebellion is wound up. This war is the inevitable consequence and the just punishment of the whole nation for the crime of slavery, in which the whole nation has been implicated, as principals or as accessories. There is no escape from this punishment except by forsaking the wickedness—by ceasing to do evil and learning to do well. We have been endeavoring to outwit God ever since we were born, seventy-five years ago, and without success. We have only succeeded in putting off the evil day to have it overtake us more black and threatening than it could have overcome us at any earlier time. Three years have been needed to bring up the mass of the North to the measures by which only success could be deserved or could be had. It remains to be seen whether it has *stamina* enough left to prevail, and yet more to make victory really victorious.

There can be no doubt that to the tendency of the North from the first to despise the strength of the rebels and to believe that the continuance of the war was more damaging to the South than to herself, combined with the wish to settle the quarrel as quietly as possible on the old pro-slavery basis, is to be attributed mainly the prolongation of the war and the inevitable griefs and losses attendant upon it. Had it been given to the President and the nation to see that the one necessary thing to be done was to abolish slavery, and to suppress the rebellion in that spirit and none other, the war would have been ended within a twelvemonth, and the prosperity of the whole people saved from the slightest shock, and its greatness and power established forever. There were not wanting prophets enough to utter these truths in their ears. The Abolitionists, certainly, have no *laches* to lament in their own case. McClellan would have been in Richmond in December, 1861. Charleston, Mobile and Savannah would have been in our hands, had we reached our hands out after them. Could Butler have been made Dictator, after he had been educated up to the point at New Orleans, the rebellion would have been suppressed, the chief traitors executed, slavery abolished, and the rebel country held in an armed pacification, before a year had expired from the firing of the first gun at Sumter. But it was not in the nature of things that the nation, or the President who incarnated it, should be ready for such a disentangling of the knot of our difficulties, or rather for such a severing of it by the sword. The interests, prejudices and passions in favor of a pro-slavery solution of the war, were too strong for the dictates of reason or the remonstrances of common sense. Consequently, time was given to make Richmond and the seaports impregnable, as far as we know anything about them up to this time, and to develop and concentrate the energies and the resources of the rebel States in an astonishing manner. So brief and easy an ending to the war would have been more than we deserved. We were left to work out our salvation through much tribulation, and with a very reasonable possibility of our not being able to work it out at all.

We have never been of the number of those prophets of smooth things who have promised an unqualified success to the arms of the nation and a certain triumph to its cause. We believe, and have believed from the beginning, that the Abolition of Slavery would come finally out of this war; but we have never disguised from ourselves or our readers our fears lest this consummation might come in a way that was not looked for. Had the nation in the first days of its strength and of the rebels' weakness accepted this key of the enigma, it might have been happily resolved. But as that was perhaps morally impossible—as it was at any rate refused—the chances of a very dubious battle had to be invoked. And we think it was never more dubious than at this moment, as to its decision in our favor and the disposition of the Slave question in the wisest way. The rebels have reduced their government to a simple despotism—the best possible for a desperate stand against an invasion. The passions of the people are thoroughly aroused and all their energies awake. They have not less than three hundred thousand men, most of them veterans, well officered, and they hold the inside of the lines of attack and defence. They have also the internal communications, which, however defective they may be, are yet sufficient to the rapid concentration of troops on any necessary point, as we know to our cost. We have more than double the numerical force of the enemy; but the felicity of their position greatly diminishes this disproportion against them. Notwithstanding all the stories of deserters and the inventions of Our Correspondents, both of which classes "must please to live," we have a numerous, well-disciplined, well-appointed and desperate enemy to encounter. They know perfectly well that their all is staked upon the turn the game of war takes this Summer and Autumn, and we may be sure that they will play it accordingly. We trust that the coming campaign will be marked with qualities which have not distinguished those that have preceded it. If it be fought in earnest for the conquest of the enemy, and not for an arrangement which will be a virtual surrender of ourselves to their discretion, all may be well, provided we be successful. If it be engineered as an electioneering instrumentality, we may reckon on defeat in the field, first—then on Copperhead success at the polls—and finally on the recognition of the Confederacy, by McClellan, or whoever represents the success.

We do not delight in prophecies of ill. We make them only that the evil may be avoided. But we think our greatest danger now lies in the direction of over-confidence in the certainty of our success and of the determination of the North to reduce the rebellion at all hazards, and in the overweening sense of the vital importance of the nomination of this or that candidate for the Presidency. The country has made sacrifices of men and money such as no nation ever yet did. It has given the government everything they have asked of it. And it now demands a return for what it has given. The truest electioneering policy is to beat the rebels out of hand. Any other can hardly fail to throw the game of politics into the hands of the enemy. Compromise we believe to be beyond the concessions of Seymour and Wood. The only path of peace for the Peace party will be through Recognition. And should that party succeed, such will be the upshot of the matter. Though slavery would be scotched by such a separation, when deprived of its dominion over the rich provinces of the North, and though it would ultimately die of that dilaceration, it would linger long and die slowly. Even in the Border States it would be likely to survive, according to present appearances, far too long, and to be a festering thorn in our side. Anti-Slavery honesty is indeed now the only political policy. If the Republican party have the grace to amend the Constitution so as to abolish slavery, or even to pass a law doing this, in spite of the reluctance of high places, and if this action be supported by victories in the field, its success is probable. If it refuse to do this, and the enemy do but hold their own, its leaders must not be surprised if the people abandon them in disgust and think the Democratic candidate, whoever he may be, at least worth a trial. We trust that short-sighted cunning and selfish trickery will not induce the dominant party in Congress and the country to do and to omit things which will tend to its own overthrow, and—which is of rather more importance—to the disgrace if not the ruin of the nation.

INJUSTICE OF THE GOVERNMENT TO THE NEGRO.

LETTER FROM MAJOR STEARNS.

BOSTON, March 28, 1864.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SIR: In your paper of the 26th inst. I find the following paragraph:

"'Am I not sorry that he has resigned?' I should be if I were not certain that the work can now go on without him. His successor, Capt. Mussey of the regular army, is a first-rate fellow, and just the man for the post; well-educated and whole-hearted. But I tell you what I am sorry for; I am sorry that the Major's friends have given newspaper publicity to his reason for resigning. 'Incivility' is a disagreeable thing, but it is one of the liabilities of shoulder-straps. Even two stars are not always sufficient to save a man from being snubbed. What if Stanton is sometimes *overbrusque?* We can forgive him for that. He is not a candidate for the Presidency. He saved us from McClellan. He is out-and-out anti-slavery."

The only notices I have seen of my resignation are one in *The Commonwealth*, and the other in *The Liberator*, both unauthorized and unseen by me before publication. "Incivility" was not the cause of my resignation; I could have borne that if I had found underneath it a desire to urge on the work. Mr. Stanton's manner towards me was indeed an indication that he had no interest in my work; that and his conduct convinced me I should not have from him any hearty cooperation, but I continued at my post as long as I could find reason to believe that the government intended to deal honestly with the negro, and resigned when I had become convinced that it did not wish and would not bear thorough and conscientious work in that direction, that practically no faith was to be kept with him, and that in a contest with the white man he must always go to the wall, because the War Department would not grant him the measure of justice meted out to the white soldier.

The reason why we have so few colored men in our army *to-day* is because they have been treated unfairly, and, as far as I know, nearly all representations of these abuses have been allowed to pass unheeded.

We might have had 200,000 colored men in our army to-day, if they had been dealt with in good faith and treated properly.

The War Department commenced recruiting negroes as soldiers in Massachusetts, Hilton Head and New Orleans, with the promise of the same pay, clothing and treatment as to white soldiers, and when I was commissioned to recruit, that understanding prevailed throughout the country.

I commenced recruiting colored men for the government in Philadelphia on these terms, and when I accidentally learned at the War Department that a decision had been made sometime before to pay but ten dollars per month, without clothing, I was obliged to discharge all my recruits and commence anew.

Of the 54th and 55th Massachusetts I recruited 1,300 men, who were induced to leave Pennsylvania and the West because they were to enter the service on the same terms as white soldiers. It was not a question of pay but of equality. They believed and had a right to believe the representations made to them, and the government was bound in honor either to comply with or abrogate the *whole* contract; but it stood by silently, allowed the fraud to go on, then repudiated the promises of its agents, but kept the men.

THE MASSACHUSETTS FIFTY-FOURTH.

A letter from Beaufort, dated Feb. 26, from a gentleman who accompanied Gen. Seymour's expedition, has the following passage relative to the conduct of the Fifty-fourth in the recent repulse in Florida:

"A word about the terrible defeat in Florida. We have been driven from Lake City to within seven miles of Jacksonville—53 miles. The rebels allowed us to penetrate, and then, with ten to our one, cut us off, meaning to 'bag' us. *And had it not been for the glorious Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, the whole brigade would have been captured or annihilated.* This was the only regiment that rallied, broke the rebel ranks and saved us. *The Eighth United States Colored lost their flag twice, and the Fifty fourth recaptured it each time.* They have lost in killed and missing about 350. They would not retreat when ordered, but charged on them with the most fearful desperation, driving the enemy before them and turning their left flank. If this regiment has not won glory enough to have shoulder straps, where is there one that ever did?"

We hear that there is a good deal of murmuring among the friends of this regiment in Boston, owing to the statements constantly reaching them that, notwithstanding this gallant conduct and its previous record, it is kept almost constantly on fatiguing and dangerous duty, out of all proportion to its share.—*Boston Journal, March 14th.*

CONDEMNED AND SHOT FOR MUTINY.

Sergt. Wm. Walker, of Company A, 3d S. C. colored troops was yesterday killed, in accordance with the sentence of a court-martial. He had declared he would no longer remain a soldier for $7 per month, and had brought his company to stack their arms before their captain's tent, refusing to do duty until they should be paid $13 a month, as had been agreed when they were enlisted by Col. Saxton. He was a smart soldier and an able man, dangerous as leader in a revolt. His last moments were attended by Chaplain Wilson, 24th Mass., and Chaplain Moore of the 2d S. C. colored troops. The execution took place at Jacksonville, Fla., in presence of the regiments there in garrison. He met his death unflinchingly. Out of eleven shots first fired, but one struck him. A reserve firing party had been provided, and by these he was shot to death.

The mutiny for which this man suffered death arose entirely out of the inconsistent and contradictory orders of the Paymaster and the Treasury Department at Washington.—*Beaufort (S. C.) Cor. Tribune.*

Think you that I can contemplate my share in that work with satisfaction, when I remember those gallant men who have been thus deceived and defrauded, many of whom have died in the belief we intended to cheat them? The War Department enlisted these men at $13 per month and then reduced their pay to $7. Was that honest? Was that anti-slavery? Could slaveholders have been meaner? Yet even *this* has been justified in the Senate of the United States by a Senator who would have scorned to apply the same rule to his private business transactions.

The government has not kept its faith with the colored man anywhere. When I went to Nashville, colored men, free and slave, were hunted daily through the streets, and impressed for labor on fortifications, railroads, and in hospitals, and although promised ten dollars per month, it was rarely paid, and many of them worked from 12 to 15 months without any pay. Let me give you one case of several that came under my notice. When our army occupied Nashville, in August, 1862, calls were made for slaves to work on the fortifications. About 2,700 were employed. A large number ran from their masters. Many Union men sent their best hands, and some were impressed. These men, working in the heat of the Autumn months, lying on the hillside at night in the heavy dews without shelter, and fed with poor food, soon sickened. In four months about 800 of them died, the remainder were kept at work from six to fifteen months without pay. Then all who were able-bodied were forcibly enlisted in the 12th U. S. colored troops. Many of them had families, who were destitute of the necessaries of life. Why? Because the War Department would not decide whether the slave or his owner should have the money. Everywhere where the colored man is treated with harshness and neglect, so that now only those will volunteer who, having just come within our lines, have had no experience to warn them against our brutality. So with the slave. The President has emancipated the negro, but allows Gen. Banks or any other general, who thinks he can turn a political penny in that direction, practically to reënslave him.

How long will it take Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton to learn that God has bound up justice to the negro with the termination of this war! It would have been ended to-day and reconstruction begun, if we had recognized the negro as a *man* at the outset, but we shall *never* bring the rebel States back to the Union until the government acts earnestly on the theory that slavery is the cause of the war.

So long as the slaveholder hopes to keep his slaves, he is at heart a rebel. Emancipate them, and he begins to be a "Union man." When the planter is thoroughly convinced his slaves are free, and not until then, he will begin to reconstruct his home and his fortune. All men at the South, Union or Rebel, are waiting to see the result of this war.

"If it is pro-slavery, the Unionist goes under, a proscribed and banished man, and must flee the country a pauper, his land and his negroes are gone, and he has nothing else." If anti-slavery, then both begin the world anew on equal terms.

Look at Kentucky to-day under Gov. Bramlette. Half-rebellious, almost ready to welcome a rebel raid to save slavery (so my Louisville correspondent informs me). If the President had included Kentucky in the order to enlist slaves in Maryland, Tennessee and Missouri, Gov. Bramlette would to-day have been the loyal Governor of a loyal State, and Cincinnati safe without giving Grant a moment's anxiety.

Give the slave the same inducement to enter our service that we give to Northern white soldiers, and Rebeldom would be deserted by the blacks. One fifth of the money expended to procure Northern volunteers would deplete the Southern States of the negro, both slave and free, and enable us to keep a large number of white men at home.

The son of a white farmer must go to the war as volunteer or drafted man. The property of a Northen man must be heavily taxed to support the war. So says the government, and we all cheerfully respond *Amen.* You shall not touch the slave of a Kentucky planter, either as person or property, says Gov. Bramlette, so far Abraham Lincoln says *Amen.* Will he always say that? If so, then let us give up all hopes of subduing the rebellion, and make up our minds that all the force we can command, and all the sacrifice we can make, will not subdue the South.

You will see by what I have written that I kept my post as long as I could put faith in the intention of the government to accept the aid of the colored man on fair terms; when I lost that faith, I resigned.

Yours truly, GEORGE L. STEARNS.

GEORGE THOMPSON IN WORCESTER.

A LARGE audience assembled in Worcester last evening, in Mechanics Hall, (one of the largest in the State), to give welcome to GEORGE THOMPSON, and to hear his exposition of the views and feelings of the British people towards this country. He was very handsomely introduced by Judge HENRY CHAPIN, whose honorable and consistent anti-slavery course made him a most suitable man for this office, and his appropriate reminiscences, in connection with Mr. Thompson's two former visits to this country, and his cordial and eloquent greeting to him on the present occasion, were warmly cheered.

We have heard Mr. Thompson speak on several former occasions, within the few past weeks, but on none when we were so altogether moved and gratified as on this. Repeatedly he gave evidence that his old power of stirring and rousing the loftiest human emotion was still in him. He referred with much feeling to the welcome which Worcester gave him, in 1850, when that mob of organized rowdies, set on by Boston *gentlemen* (!) and encouraged by the Mayor and police of Boston, silenced him and his friends in Faneuil Hall, and refused him even the culprit's privilege of a word in his own defence. At that time, the City and County of Worcester, indignant at the disgrace which Boston had brought upon the State, with great unanimity and in a generous manner, which he had never forgotten and never could forget, invited him to come amongst them, and speak to them the word which he had desired to speak in Faneuil Hall; he came, and found the City Hall crowded with friends, and with the friends of free speech—a scene never to be forgotten. He then pleasantly alluded to the great change in *Boston* since that time. Now, returning to that city, which once he was obliged to leave secretly, to save his life, he is met by gentlemen in authority—United States officers—to welcome him and render him the facilities and attention needful and cheering to a stranger; and his public reception in that city was most generous and kind.

He referred to the wonderful change over the whole land—traced the course of slavery in our history and again exposed its malignant and despotic designs; he spoke of his own labors in England, from the moment this slaveholder's war broke out, in behalf of our cause, for he felt sure it was freedom's cause, and that the contest would more and more develop the iniquitous purposes of slavery, and necessitate its destruction. But the English people did not at first see evidence of that. They were obliged to wait long, before they saw conclusive evidence that the North fought with an anti-slavery purpose. From the moment that Mr. Lincoln uttered the immortal proclamation of Emancipation of Jan. 1, 1863, the bulk of the English people, the moral strength of the nation, was with us. It had remained steadfastly with us, and would grow in magnitude and power, in proportion to the fidelity and thoroughness with which the anti-slavery principle was maintained by us. That people, whose hostility to slavery was the growth of generations, who had never been foiled by the lordlings and aristocrats of the land in any reform to which they had put their hand, who had compelled even the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel to do their work and advocate their measures, would stand truly by us and with us against all enemies, in every measure for the complete extirpation of slavery. Mr. Thompson, most earnestly, most solemnly, exhorted the American people not to leave their great and holy work undone. On the basis of impartial freedom and justice to all men, we should be invincible; and, forcing our enemies and all their allies to stand before the whole world the defenders of Human Slavery and its base propagators, we should in that very fact ensure their speedy and entire defeat. He closed with a magnificent anticipation of the future prosperity, power, and peace of the land, with its foundation laid in righteousness, justice, and the eternal laws of God.

Our people have been greatly pleased with this visit from Mr. Thompson; and he leaves us with our best and warmest wishes for his increasing health and happiness, and with our thanks for the good service he has rendered the cause of freedom here. M., L.

A FOUL-MOUTHED JUSTICE.—In the Supreme Court of this city the following scene is reported to have taken place on Wednesday, March 30:

"An article appeared in *The Evening Post* on Tuesday of this week, severely commenting on Judge Barnard's action in releasing James K. Cook (who had been convicted of swindling a recruit) on bail.

"This morning, shortly after the court opened, and in the presence of a large number of lawyers, the Judge referred to the article, making the following remarks:

"'My attention has just been called to an article that appeared in that beastly journal, *The Evening Post*, last evening. With the exception of bailing Cook, it is totally false, and nothing else, moreover, could be expected from a man who publicly keeps a negro mistress.

"'I shall take occasion at an early day, and in a public manner to discuss the characters of those rotten vagabonds who live by black-mailing citizens, and designate themselves as connected with *The Evening Post.*'"

Seldom is the press obliged to record so outrageous a violation of dignity and truth in those whose only title to respect is a strict maintenance of both these qualities. The slander affixed to the character of the editor of *The Post* was as gratuitous as it was groundless and malicious, being evoked neither by its pertinency to the case in question, nor by the nature of the strictures which gave offense to this pink of judicial propriety. The language in which it was couched and by which it was accompanied betrays only the rottenness of its source. Justice becomes a mockery when entrusted to one whose ermine is too scant to admit of decency.

MR. THOMPSON'S RECEPTION IN PHILADELPHIA.

"LAST evening," says *The Press* of the 5th inst., "the people of Philadelphia did honor in no insignificant manner to the noble man GEORGE THOMPSON, of England, whose name has been so long and so eminently connected with all schemes, in his own as well as in this country, having for their object the alleviation of human misery and the promulgation of universal emancipation. An audience was assembled at the Academy of Music which, for numbers and respectability, has certainly been equalled, but never surpassed, and the welcome which Mr. Thompson received at the hands of his American friends must certainly have been as gratifying to himself as it was honorable to them. On the platform were many of our distinguished citizens, whose presence added weight and influence to the character of the demonstration. With these and a large number of officers of the colored regiments, every seat on the platform was occupied."

Shortly before 8 o'clock, Mr. Horace Binney, Jr., came forward and made an opening address, in which he set forth at some length the historical position of Pennsylvania on the subject of slavery. He tendered to Mr. Thompson the greeting of "Pennsylvania Abolitionists, who have never swerved from the principles of their forefathers in 1780."

Speech of Mr. Thompson.

When the applause with which Mr. Thompson had been received had somewhat subsided, he proceeded to speak as follows:

SIR, I thank you and the other signers of that invitation in consequence of which I occupy this position to-night, for the honor done me by inviting me to this city, and I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the very cordial and hearty reception with which you have greeted me. Down to the period of the breaking out of the present unhappy war between the States North and South upon this continent, the unexampled progress and prosperity of this country was, in the estimation of all persons in Europe, excepting the prejudiced and uncandid, one of the wonders of modern civilization. As the great Republic, this nation stood apart from all the other governments in Christendom. The vastness of your territory, the freedom of your laws, your most admirable system of education, your general intelligence, the spirit of improvement which animated the people, all contributed to arrest the world's attention, and to command the world's respect. Guaranteeing, as it did, to every man freedom of conscience and speech, to every press the utmost altitude of criticism and expression, to every individual a perfect application of property, the Constitution of the United States enlisted the admiration of every friend of liberty throughout the world. Whatever was their loyalty and attachment to the forms and government under which they lived, these friends rejoiced in the success of the great experiment of republican democratic government on the shores of North America. One source of poignant regret there was, that under such a government such an institution as that of slavery should have had a tolerated existence. But even that monstrous evil did not blind us of Europe to the many excellences of a political system that for a period of upwards of 70 years had otherwise worked so well, and had wrought out such marvellously happy results. We could distinguish between that which was the growth and development of your glorious and free institutions or the natural offspring upon which your independence and government were founded, and that which was the fruit of the hateful system which you permitted to remain amongst you after you had asserted and triumphantly maintained your right to govern yourselves. For thirty years preceding this foul rebellion, which now fills America with the throes of another, but, thank God, a better revolution than that of '76 (applause)—for thirty years preceding that act of assassination committed against the Union and the Constitution to the country—the friends of human freedom in other lands marked to their sorrow and dismay the rapid strides of the Slave Power on this continent, and its supreme and universal domination. During these years it seemed as though the mighty power possessed by the sovereign white race could be wielded only for the extension of slavery and the perpetuation of the abasement of the colored race. At length, however, the spirit of resistance was manifested by the people of the North to the encroachments and arbitrary power of the slaveholding oligarchy of the South. That spirit was nobly exhibited in the great partisan political struggle of 1856. It was again developed in 1860, when the efforts of those opposed to slavery were met with success in the election of Mr. Abraham Lincoln (uproarious applause, and three cheers for Lincoln) The world is cognizant of the events to which that election has led. All are aware that certain slave States, long before any State openly revolted against the Federal government, severed the bonds which bound them to their sister States. They formed a Confederacy which had slavery for its corner-stone, and repudiated the Constitution under which they had lived, under which they had been fostered, under which they had been petted and spoiled (applause). Repudiating this Constitution, they adopted one which gave to the stronger race the right of enslaving the weaker race, and declared the normal condition of the black man to be that of subordination and subjection to the white man. By this event your Union has been plunged into a cruel war, and on this, my third visit to your shores, I find you in the midst of a second great revolutionary struggle—a struggle at first for the restoration of political Union, now a revolution for an impartial and universal liberty (applause). In this terrible and sublime conflict between freedom and slavery—between free institutions and oligarchical despotism—I find the Keystone State of the Union occupying a position worthy of her name, worthy of her past history, worthy of the illustrious men that are to be found on the scroll of her citizens, and worthy of the great cause of which America has once again declared herself a champion—the cause of human equality and universal liberty.

Thrice happy am I, therefore, under these circumstances, and after a lapse of thirty years, to be permitted in this magnificent building, and before this still more magnificent audience, to raise my feeble and humble voice in advocacy of the cause which first brought me to your soil, and which now appears so near its final, glorious consummation. Oh that my words, or any words which I have the power to utter this night, might strengthen and intensify, inflame and confirm, the resolution you have already formed, to purge your beloved country from the last remaining stain brought upon it by that accursed system which has been the cause of all your past political disorders, as it is the cause of your present calamities and the sanguinary war still raging amongst you! Standing where I do to-night; I cannot overlook the fact that it was in this city, and not far from where we are now assembled, that the doctrine was first promulgated, and promulgated as the basis of a new and Democratic government, "All men are created equal," and the political application of that great truth declared of old by an apostle of Christianity that "God hath made of one blood all the families of man to dwell on the face of the earth" (applause). I cannot forget that even before that cardinal principle of the immortal Declaration of Independence was published to the world by the people of the Thirteen Colonies, there were in this State those who gave a special application to that great principle, and now this whole nation is about to make the application of it to the circumstances of an oppressed race on this continent. Here in the Academy of Music, in the centre of the city of Philadelphia, and in the presence of this vast auditory, I, on the 4th of April, 1864, openly and fearlessly declare that I am the friend and advocate of the doctrine of immediate, entire, and universal emancipation (great applause). Here I call aloud and say, "Loose the bond of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free." But, my friends, it was not always so. Oh! blessed be the God and Father of the human family that I have lived to see this day, a day when not only in your own beloved city of Philadelphia, but in Boston, and in New York, and in Portland, in all of which places I have been heard by attentive, kind, and approving audiences; but in Washington, within the walls of your Capitol, aye, even in the hall of your Representatives, I may stand, I, the once hated and persecuted missionary of an unpopular and despised truth, I may stand even where your assembled representatives congregate, and say aloud, "Break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it" (great applause). The beloved friends with whom I kept sweet counsel in the hours of darkness, doubt, and peril, thirty years ago, saw you not the cloud arising then? Little as a human hand, now it spreads all over the land, and for that—

> "Now joy and thanks forevermore!
> The weary night has well nigh passed.
> The slumbers of the North are o'er—
> The giant stands erect at last!"

(Cheers.) In this glad hour, when our souls are drawn out in thankfulness to God, whose hand hath done it all—in this hour of hope and promise, let me recall to your recollection the names and labors of some of your own citizens, and some of their achievements in the cause of human freedom of your own honored State: On the 14th of April, 1775, eighty-nine years ago, within ten days, might have been seen gathered together in a small room in an obscure tavern, called the Sun Tavern, on Second street, a few earnest and devoted friends of the human race, friends of the human race without distinction of color, who did not estimate humanity by the texture of the hair, or the length of the heel, or the color of the skin—who looked within, and remembered Him who said: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's"—who looked upon that animated being, whom the planter calls a chattel personal, as one having the impress of the Deity upon him, who deemed it their duty to render unto God the things which are God's. In that obscure tavern might, on the 14th of April, 1775, have been seen a few such persons assembled for the purpose of forming an association under the modest name of "The society of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage."

> O, Truth! O, Freedom! how are ye still born
> In the rude stable, in the manger nursed!
> What humble hands unbar the gates of morn,
> Through which the splendors of the new day burst!

That little room in the Sun Tavern, held the Abolitionists of Philadelphia. On the 14th of April, 1864, it would require many such buildings as this to contain the Abolitionists that have since grown up (great applause). That little band, we are told, was principally composed of the people called Quakers. All honor to the Quakers (applause). Africa and her children owe a mighty debt to the followers of George Fox and William Penn. They were the people called Quakers, who gave Thomas Clarkson, a stranger in London, both sympathy and aid in the outset of his career for the abolition of the slave trade. They were the people called Quakers, as I can well testify, who cooperated with Wilberforce and Buckstone and Macauley, for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies. They were the people called Quakers who were among the first religious bodies of Christendom to make non-slaveholding a condition of membership in their communion. The anti-slavery annals of this country are rich with instances of self-devotion on the part of the Quakers. Amongst those who have been the forerunners of emancipation on this continent, the names of Woolman and Benezet stand conspicuous (applause).

The association in Second street, of which Anthony Benezet was a member, was reorganized and placed upon a broader basis, and became in 1787 "The Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and for the improvement of the condition of the African race." Among the illustrious men who became officers of that Society were two whose names are found among the signers of the Declaration of Independence—Benjamin Franklin and Benjamin Rush. It was by this Society that a petition was sent to Congress, whose words have frequently been quoted by the friends of emancipation since. In that petition to Congress they say that "Liberty being originally the portion and still the birthright of all men, your memorialists conceive themselves bound to use all justifiable measures to lessen the bond of slavery, and to promote the enjoyment of the blessings of freedom to all men in this land." The petition urged Congress that it would extend its sympathy to the men who were laboring in servile subjection and devise means to remove the stain of slavery from the character of the American people, and demanded prompt justice and mercy to the oppressed race. This petition was signed by the illustrious Benjamin Franklin, as President of the Pennsylvania Society. In looking into the records of that Society I find the names of some of your most esteemed citizens; Richard Peters, Judge of the District Court; Rev. John Andrews, provost of the University of Pennsylvania; Thomas Savery, merchant; Thomas Paine, author of "Common Sense" and the "Age of Reason"; and amongst its honorary members Thomas Price, the correspondent of Jefferson, the eminent philanthropist of London; the Marquis de Lafayette, etc. (applause).

Let us now turn from individuals and society to notice the action of your State on the question of slavery. The public mind having been duly prepared by the labors of the friends of emancipation, on the 8th of November, 1779, ten years before the Constitution of the Unites States came into operation—a bill was introduced into the General Assembly providing for the abolition of slavery, which bill was passed into law on the 15th of February, 1780. It was not a bill for *immediate abolition*; but that great doctrine was not proclaimed, as the principle of governmental action, until nearly half a century afterwards, and even then produced apprehension and alarm. The good and great men of this State acted according to the light they possessed at the time. That they were animated by a spirit of justice and humanity, and under a solemn sense of the duty they owed both to God and man, will be seen by a reference to the preamble of the act which they passed, which preamble was in the following remarkable words:

"We conceive it to be our duty, and rejoice that it is in our power, to extend a portion of the freedom to others which has been extended to us. * * * It is not for us to inquire why, in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the earth were distinguished by a difference of features and complexion. It is sufficient to know that all are the work of an Almighty hand.

"We find in the distribution of the human species, that the most fertile, as well as the most barren parts of the earth, are inhabited by men of different complexions; from whence we may reasonably infer, that He who placed them in their various situations, had extended equally His care and protection to all, and that it becometh not us, to counteract His mercies. We esteem it a peculiar blessing granted to us, that we are this day enabled to add one more step to universal civilization by removing the sorrows of those who have lived in undeserved bondage, and from which, by the assumed authority of the King of Great Britain, no effectual relief could be obtained. Weaned by a long course of experience from those narrow prejudices and partialities we had imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness towards men of all conditions and natures; and we conceive ourselves, at this particular period, extraordinarily called upon, by the blessings which we have received, to manifest the sincerity of our professions, and give a substantial proof of our gratitude."

Your honored chairman has anticipated me in what I intended to say of the action of your own great State on the subject of slavery, and having referred to him, let me award to him my thanks for his presence here to-night, and let me tell him that neither his name nor that of his honored parent is unknown to me, nor is the name of any of the noble sons of Pennsylvania who have shed lustre upon her escutcheon (applause). It is satisfactory to see so worthy a son of so noble a sire presiding over that meeting which afforded to me so warm a welcome.

The public mind having been duly prepared by the labors of that Society to which I have referred, the friends of emancipation, on the 8th of November, 1779, the tenth year before the Constitution of the United States came into operation, brought forward a bill into your General Assembly for the abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania. The preamble of that bill has already been read here by your chairman.

Such was the language of the people of Pennsylvania, as expressed in legislative action, seventy-four years ago—more than forty years before the Parliament of Great Britain proceeded to emancipate the slaves of the British dependencies.

The effect of this beneficent act, on the part of this State, showed the truth of the Scripture declaration: "Thy righteousness shall go before thee." When, many years afterwards, the British historian, Belsham, was compiling the memoirs of George the Third, and reviewing the events of the reign of that monarch, he said:

"It affords a grateful relief from the sensations which oppress the mind in listening to the tale of human folly and wretchedness, to revert to an act of the most exalted philanthropy, passed about this period by the Legislature of Pennsylvania."

The author then proceeds to give to his readers an abridgment of your abolition act.

It was this act that enabled one of your Representatives in Congress, in February, 1820, during a debate on the Missouri question, to speak in terms of high and deserved eulogy in reference to the position occupied by Pennsylvania on the subject of slavery.

That gentleman, Mr. Sargent, addressing the House, in reply to Mr. Clay, represented the State of Pennsylvania, in language which, I trust and believe, accurately describes her position and purpose at the present time. He said:

"Pennsylvania has not been anxious for what are commonly deemed honors and distinctions, nor eager to display her weight and importance in the affairs of the nation. She has nevertheless felt, and does still feel her responsibility to the Union, and under a just sense of her duty has always been faithful to its interests, under every vicissitude, and in every exigency."

"But Pennsylvania feels also a high responsibility to a great moral principle, which she has long ago adopted, with the most impressive solemnity, for the rule of her own conduct, and which she stands bound to assert and maintain, wherever her influence and power can be applied without injury to the just rights of her sister States."

"It is this principle, and this alone which now governs her conduct. She holds it too sacred to suffer it to be debased by association with any party or factious views, and she will pursue it with the singleness of heart, and with the firm but unoffending temper, which belong to a conscientious discharge of duty."

The principle alluded to by Mr. Sargent was that of the inalienable right of every human being, of every complexion, to the possession of that liberty which, in the Declaration of Independence, your Revolutionary fathers claimed for themselves.

Not alone in the State of Pennsylvania do I witness a revival of the anti-slavery feeling of other days. The spirit of freedom is universal. This, certainly, is a strange spectacle for one who has twice before visited your country, a scene so very different from what has been witnessed in previous years. History tells us of an invading army, that, having penetrated into the enemy's country and taken its chief city, entered the central square of that city, and saw elevated upon a lofty column a statue of a divinity; a superstition prevailed among the people of that country that whenever any molestation should be offered to that image, and still more, if it ever should be destroyed by insolent hands, then the indignation of the gods would be excited, and calamities would overtake the nation. A soldier belonging to that invading army, perhaps the Fremont of that day (applause), scaled that column and reached that image, and with the battle-axe he had used so well in the field, he smote the goddess again, and again, and again, until the fragments fell around the base of the column. The people stood aghast. They looked up, expecting the heavens would open, and the thunderbolts of vengeance descend upon them. They expected the earth would rock and swallow them up, but they looked up and saw that the heavens remained as beautiful and serene as ever. They looked around, and all was as stable and verdant as ever. They learned to despise the prophecy and laugh at their own superstitions, and to believe in a better and higher Divinity. From that day forward that people arose to be great in influence, in honor, and in civilization. I have seen in the central place of this great nation a column, and a statue thereon. I have learned that there was a superstition universal in this country that he who offered violence to the image of slavery would bring the glorious institutions of the country to ruin. There have been those courageous enough to assail that divinity, to strike her again and again, and now, behold, she totters, and totters to her fall. The freeman's yoke is falling from the neck of your bondsmen, and America shall now be free.

But a little while ago Washington was the seat of a slave trade, and was filled with slave auctions, and slave prisons, and slave pens: now you may traverse the district of Columbia, and you shall not find through its whole length and breadth a single slave auction, or slave prison, or slave pen; and God be thanked for that. Wicked hands, a few years ago, threw down the only remaining barrier to the extension of slavery; repealed the Missouri Compromise; obtained the Dred Scott decision from the lips of slaveholding judges whom they themselves had appointed, and declared that slavery was constitutional and universal, protected and sanctified everywhere within the jurisdiction of the United States of America. Now, there is upon your statute book an act according to which slavery is forever prohibited in all those vast Northwestern territories; they are saved, consecrated, and bequeathed to liberty, to free men, and to free labor. In Washington, a few years ago, the most accomplished representative from Liberia was an outcast. Now, that Republic may send to your capital city her darkest citizen as a representative, and albeit he is allied by his color to the African, he stands in the presence of the President on a footing of absolute equality with the palest and the proudest of the representatives of the oldest monarchies in Europe.

When I was last in America, the free States were a hunting-ground, in which two-footed monsters sought their human prey. There was not a city of refuge for the fugitive slave in America; no household in which he could be entertained, for it was a misdemeanor punishable at law for a hospitable citizen to tender a cup of cold water or a night's shelter to the fugitive. Aye, even from the very halls of the altar he might be dragged, and was dragged, in defiance of the divine law which said: "Thou shalt not return to his master the servant that has escaped unto thee." The Fugitive Slave law, which still pollutes your statute book, is one against which, as with one voice, you ought to protest and have instantly effaced. Yet of the millions who people these States of Ameries, I think there is not one who would attempt, at this hour, to execute that execrable law (applause). When I was last in America slavery was secured. Its throne seemed to be established. It appeared to be immovable. The Slave Power was dominant and universal. It was the ruling power of your country, conducting your home and foreign policy, appointing your ambassadors, consuls, and judges, coming nearer and nearer to your religious and ecclesiatical assemblies, tyrannizing over your Bible Society, your Missionary Society, and your Tract Society. A little later the slaveholding aristocracy is no longer acknowledged; the spirit of '76 is revived; the people of America are themselves again, and yet a little while and America shall place her heel upon the neck of slavery, and say: "Babylon the great has fallen" (applause).

In this great and good work, some of us in England endeavored to help you. It was said when I came here that my pockets were lined with British gold; that I was the friend of the despots of Europe; that I came to disturb your Union, and to overthrow your institutions; and no professions of friendship I might have made, could have materially altered that opinion. But I waited for the time when, by something better than words, I might testify how sincerely I loved this country and its people. The hour came. It was the hour of your trial and your agony; when you were

quainted, I do not fail to observe those of others whom I know to be held in high esteem by the best people of the land, and whom in consequence I have myself been long accustomed to regard with respect and honor.

The estimate which in your kindness you put upon my labors in behalf of this country, were it predicated upon my intentions only, I should say does me more than justice. I have ever been an admirer of America: American people and American institutions have had for many years my best affections and warmest approval. The language of my heart has often been: "Would to God that my own country were as America, *except these bonds.*" And to break these bonds, you will bear me witness, no effort of mine has been wanting. For America's sake as well as for humanity's, I have labored to this end. Thank God the day of deliverance which we have all sighed for, has at length dawned upon your country! In the added honors which are already clustering around your nation's name, I have a pleasure not exceeded by that of the most loyal of your citizens.

It will afford me great pleasure, gentlemen, to comply with your invitation. I shall be in Philadelphia on Monday, the 4th of April, on my way to Washington, and if it should suit your convenience to appoint the proposed meeting for that evening, I shall be happy to attend and address it.

I have the honor to be, gent'emen, yours, with great respect, GEORGE THOMPSON.

To Horace Binney, Jr., Thomas Webster, John C. Knox, Esqs., and others, Philadelphia.

CIRCULATE THE EMANCIPATION PETITION!

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of ———— believing Slavery the great cause of the present rebellion, and an institution fatal to the life of Republican government, earnestly pray your honorable bodies to immediately abolish it throughout the United States; and to adopt measures for so amending the Constitution as forever to prohibit its existence in any portion of our common country.

The above form of petition, it will be observed, is identical with that lately sent out by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society. It is now requested that all copies thereof, from whomsoever received, should be, as soon as signed and completed, returned to the care of Miss S. B. ANTHONY, 20 Cooper Institute, New York, from which office they will be duly forwarded to Congress. *Let all help* this very important and essential work.

INCIPIENT TREASON IN KENTUCKY.

THE following circumstantial statement by the Washington correspondent of *The Tribune* has every appearance of being true, and deserves to go upon record. The activity of the Rebels in the Southwest betokens an early invasion of Kentucky, aided, it may be, by Copperhead traitors and *soi-disant* loyalists. In event of an attempt at revolution by the pro-slavery party of that State, it may be well to remember who were the authors of the mischief:

The organized denial by Gov. Bramlette and friends of the truth of *The Tribune's* Washington telegram, that the Governor had prepared a proclamation calling upon Kentucky to resist the draft of her slaves, induces us to return to the topic, and to state positively and more at large that, among the evidences of a treasonable purpose conspired between the Governor of that State and *The Louisville Journal* factionists, are:

I. The fact that Gov. Bramlette sat upon the platform at Lexington, and gave his official countenance to the traitorous speech of Woolford, in which he eulogized "the Buckners, the Morgans, the Stephenses of Kentucky and of the South," denounced President Lincoln as "a tyrant and a usurper," and moaned over "the desolation and misery this war was bringing on the women and children of the South."

II. The fact that the Provost-Marshal of Boyle County, while engaged in enrolling the negroes in his district, received a dispatch by telegraph from Governor Bramlette, nearly if not literally in these words: "I have dispatched the President, and have demanded that this business of enrolling and drafting of negroes in Kentucky must be stopped; and if he don't stop it, I will."

III. The facts that Governor Bramlette, after an interview with Shipman of *The Louisville Journal*, wrote a proclamation to the people of Kentucky, and sent it for publication to the office of *The Commonwealth* newspaper, and that it was there put in type, and proofs of it taken—that that proclamation (1) in its opening and throughout was grossly abusive of, and hostile to Mr. Lincoln's Administration. (2.) That it unhesitatingly counseled resistance to the enrollment of negroes and specified how this could be done; stating first, that the owners of slaves could refuse to give in their names, ages, etc.; second, that if means were resorted to to compel them to furnish the negroes' names, etc., they could appeal to the courts and to him as Governor. (3.) That it pledged the people of Kentucky, *that if they would take this course, he would sustain them in it with all the power of the State.* (4.) That it attacked the law of Congress as "unquestionably unconstitutional," and urged resistance to the draft on that ground.

IV. The fact that at a meeting of five gentlemen in Frankfort, at 9 o'clock at night, Governor Bramlette read that proclamation aloud from a proof, freshly brought in from the printing office.

V. That the loyal, stout-hearted Dr. Breckinridge withstood its publication and rebuked its spirit, telling the Governor that it would "bring on civil war in the State, and that he would be held to a terrible responsibility, both personal and official, if he published it."

VI. That the Governor, cowed by Breckinridge's fidelity and sternness, and the milder disapproval of the others, then and there eviscerated the traitorous document, and sent it to be reset for publication, shorn of five-sixths of its length and purged of nearly all its treason.

VII. That Lieut.-Governor Jacobs, in a conversation with———, a few days before the event just narrated, counseled open resistance to the draft. "How will you make it?" inquired———. "We will overcome Grant's army." "How?" "We will stop his supplies—they all go through Kentucky." "What then; for Grant will fall back to Kentucky, and Longstreet will follow him and the State will be ruined?" "Well," answered Jacobs doggedly, "this thing has got to be stopped, and we may as well stop it now, if we perish in the attempt."

We here leave this presentation of the case against Gov. Bramlette, and the Pro-Slavery Union traitors of Kentucky, with the jury of the public.

The Governor's demands upon Mr. Lincoln toned down here to a request that the negroes when drafted should not be kept in Kentucky, but should be removed from the State forthwith. Ex-Senator Dixon, his comrade, begged that the draft might be suspended until after the tobacco crop was made—that is, not to let off Kentucky from hurting the Rebels for at least six months.

It is historic and interesting, apropos of all this, to say that, when Gen. Grant was in Louisville, he said, in reply to a distinguished Union man, who asked him what he would do if Bramlette & Co. "made trouble about the enrollment." "Do?"—looking at his interrogator a moment with surprise—"My God! sir, what have I to do with their notions about slaves? This is a law of Congress. It shall be executed, if I have to bring up the entire army from Chattanooga. Tell them so."

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

ENCOURAGING LETTER FROM ANDREW T. FOSS.

[Extract]

MANCHESTER, N. H., March 14.

"I HAVE closed my labors in New Hampshire for the present, having for nearly four months spoken nearly every day, with the exception of one week's absence. The last month of the canvass in New Hampshire was very exciting, and I spoke day and night, and nearly an average of four hours in the twenty-four. Of course my throat was not the better for it, and I must needs rest awhile. I hope and believe that my labor was not wholly uninfluential in producing the glorious result in the State of which you know.

"I never uttered stronger anti-slavery truths than during this exciting campaign. And my strongest utterances of this kind were precisely those loudest cheered. I am sure New Hampshire will never consent to another compromise with slavery. I am sure we have made a great progress; and I doubt not with the needed vigilance and labor but entire success will soon crown our efforts. Freedom for all and citizenship for all free men, is now our work.

* * * "It has now been about forty years since I began to make some observation upon men and things. And this have I learned, that a courageous and persistent pushing of any cause, even of those founded in the most obvious justice, is necessary to secure its recognition and acceptance; and that such persistent labor is sure to win the day. The people have pushed their government into many right positions. They will yet demand of it, and will obtain, the legal acknowledgment of the manhood of all the people of our whole land, without regard to color or condition."

MISS ANNA E. DICKINSON has chosen a memorable date for her approaching lecture at the Cooper Institute—April 19. The day suggests its own subject, which is announced to be "Lexington, April 19, 1775—Baltimore, April 19, 1861." There is inspiration in the theme, and the powers of the "medium," as the Spiritualists would style the orator, are sufficiently well-known to justify high anticipations on the part of the public.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, April 4, 1864.

THE Opposition in Congress are at a loss what to do—what course to pursue. They feel very sure that they will be beaten in the Presidential election, and they cannot decide whether it is better to be beaten occupying the old pro-slavery position, or whether they will get upon new ground, hoping to do something in the future if they cannot in the present. A prominent Democrat and McClellan member of Congress told me a day or two since that he had no doubt whatever of the result of the Presidential election—the Republicans would triumph. The only hope the Opposition could have he frankly admitted was through a Summer of military reverses. I hear that Cox of Ohio has abandoned all hope of being returned to Congress, and that with this prospect he will not consent to be a candidate. These straws show which way the current tends. The course of the Opposition in Congress is well calculated to bring ruin upon a party. The Opposition members do not agree upon any subject, do not vote together, or talk together, are opposed to each other in many things, and are not a unit in opposing the Administration. Some of the members who sit in the Opposition chairs are in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, but would rather that the slavery question were untouched. Others are afraid to avow their real sentiments, but are really heart and soul with Fernando Wood. The only difference between them is, that Fernando is courageous and they are not. It may sound like a startling statement, but it is true, that one-half the Democratic members of Congress to-day wish that they were in political alliance with the Republicans. They are ashamed of their Copperhead associates, and if they could bring their constituencies with them would come over to-morrow to the Republicans, or would found a new War and Emancipation party. Some such revolution as this is quite possible in the diminished and disgraced Democratic party. A large number of the members of that party are ashamed of its present position, and yet lack the courage to join the only reliable War party in the country.

There are a few very respectable Democrats in Congress. They are extremely scarce in the Senate. The two Oregon Senators, however, are of the better class alluded to. Senator Conness of California was a Democrat, but is so no longer in the technical sense of the word. He acts and votes with the Radical Republicans, and is an anti-slavery man in all his feelings. In the House there is quite a number of Democrats who have no sympathy with the Peace party, of which Fernando Wood is the distinguished leader. Mr. Stebbins, Mr. Odell, and Mr. Ganson of New York are not to be classed with the "Opposition" in the usual acceptation of the word. They do not steadily *oppose* the government, and, in fact, support nearly all its measures. I mention their names not to single them out, but to show the character of a class of Democrats or "Opposition" men in Congress. There are numbers of others like them. What is going to become of these men? Will they drift into disloyalty with Fernando Wood? It is impossible. Rather than do that, they will take a bold stand for Emancipation.

Senator Powell has been boring the Senate with a long speech since my last letter. It was, if anything, more treasonable than any which he had previously delivered in the Senate. The general opinion in Washington has been, for a long time, that Senator Powell's sympathies are entirely with the rebels, and that he has remained in the Senate thus far simply to help his rebellious friends. It is very evident that Senator Howard is of this opinion. In his speech delivered in the Senate some days since he administered a very severe castigation to Mr. Powell by recalling a passage in French history. He first called the attention of the Senate to the fact that Mr. Powell has never uttered one word of sympathy for his government—that he has never spoken a word against the rebellion, but has steadily opposed the war and criticized the government in its prosecution. Then he gave the subjoined bit of French history:

"After Napoleon had left the Island of Elba and recovered the imperial throne of France from the Bourbons by one of the most remarkable military enterprises recorded in history, there was a certain statesman, long familiar with the Emperor, long his fast friend, or professedly so, but who toward the close of 1814 had fallen somewhat into disfavor, but who on the restoration of the Emperor was among the first to humble himself before him, to accept him as the sovereign of France. There was no man whose words were sweeter or more flattering to the ear of the Emperor than those of this statesman. As a compensation for his affected friendship and devotion the Emperor elevated him to the high position of minister of police, and the Duke of Otranto held the seals of that important department of the government during the "hundred days." About the 1st of May an agent of Prince Metternich proceeded from Vienna to Paris with a letter written by some Vienna banker to a brother banker in Paris, on pure banking business, of course, having apparently no connection whatever with political affairs. But the agent becoming suspected was taken into custody, brought before another minister of the Emperor, and there was put to a very severe interrogatory, in the course of which he was obliged to admit that he had received this letter from the prince himself, although upon banking business, and to admit, further, that there were interlined in this banker's letter a series of instructions from Prince Metternich to the Duke of Otranto, written in sympathetic ink, to be developed only by the application of some chemical preparation.

"This letter was communicated to the Emperor, who immediately called his private confidential secretary, Baron Fleury de Chaboulon, and instructed him to assume the character of an emissary of Fouché and to repair to Basle, in Switzerland, at which point a certain Mr. Werner was to be sent by Prince Metternich, for the purpose of holding an interview. The secretary met Werner and they had a conversation, in the course of which Werner, Prince Metternich's agent, made the following suggestion: he said, with great suavity, to the secretary (I translate from *Les Cents Jours*, by M. le Baron Fleury de Chaboulon, as the work has not been printed in English), 'that the Prince was persuaded that the Duke of Otranto had accepted the ministry of police only to be able to avert from France the misfortune of a civil and a foreign war, and that it was to Monsieur Fouché that the allied Powers committed the care and the honor of saving France from a new war.'

"That was the individual who took service under the restored government, who remained in that government until after the disastrous campaign of Waterloo. It was Fouché. The world has already fixed upon him an infamy as indelible as the mark on the brow of Cain, black as Eurebus. Whether the cause in which he took service was good or bad, or the government in which *he remained* was just or unjust, there is no man whose heart is so base, no man can ever live hereafter whose sentiments are so degraded, as not to despise the treachery of Fouché. Let me refer the Senator from Kentucky to this historical incident, if not as an illustration, *at least as an admonition.*"

This made little impression upon Mr. Powell, for he is hardened in iniquity, but it made an impression upon the Senate, if it did not upon him. There were other Senators who blushed for him.

The eulogies delivered in the House on Monday last upon Mr. Lovejoy were unusually eloquent. His death is a great loss to the House, and this is the feeling of a large number of members upon the Opposition side of the House. He was preëminently a brave legislator, yet of late he had been growing not more timid, but more prudent. Soon after he came on to Washington last November I had a long conversation with him upon political subjects, and I was surprised to see that he was growing, not exactly Conservative, but moderate in his views. He was not any less opposed to slavery than ever, but he deprecated criticism of the President and of the Administration. He talked of the Administration as Mr. Garrison writes of it, disliking harsh and unfriendly criticism of it, and believing that Mr. Lincoln was the man of all others for the next Presidency.

George Thompson is expected to arrive here to-morrow evening, and he will undoubtedly be greeted with a goodly audience in the Hall of Representatives on Wednesday evening. The agent of the Associated Press committed an unpardonable blunder in sending off a dispatch that the House had refused the use of its hall to Mr. Thompson. The resolution passed readily. Of course there was opposition, for the Democrats unite upon any proposition to exclude radical anti-slavery speeches. AVON.

THE SUPREME COURT.—George W. Pearce, of the West Chester (Pa.) *Republican*—a Washington correspondent of sound judgment, alluding to the probable action of the Supreme Court of the United States on the slavery question, says:

"I alluded in one of my recent letters to the case of the Supreme Court of the United States deciding against the application made by Vallandigham and his friends, and suggested that some persons would come to the conclusion that even this conservative tribunal was, like all other departments of the government, 'abolitionised.' I venture the assertion that if certain questions involving *the entire existence of slavery* should be brought before that Court, even as at present constituted, there will be some decisions made which will make a Northern copperhead stare and swear more than over the Vallandigham case. When a venerable Judge on that Bench, born and reared in the South, and moreover a Democrat too of the strictest sect, in a private conversation on the general affairs of the country, plants himself in the most radical position as to the condition of the revolted States and the institution of slavery, then there may be some reason for saying the Court has become hopefully abolitionised. Suppose this Court should decide that three-fourths of the legislatures of the *loyal States only* were required to call a Convention to change the Constitution so as to abolish the institution of slavery, and they were to give as a reason for it that the seceded States had by the act of secession become alien enemies, and their territory, as we reclaim it, conquered territory with which this government could do as it pleased? If the private opinions of a Judge of our highest Court, freely expressed in a company of gentlemen, recently, should eventually be moulded into authoritative legal decisions, I apprehend that what is now called the wildest radicalism will find its protection on the Bench of the Supreme Court of the United States."

We need hardly call attention to the letter of Major Stearns, which we print this week. It will be read with painful interest, causing the friends of the Administration to blush with shame, and furnishing fresh grounds to its anti-slavery opponents for demanding a change at the polls next Fall. President, Secretaries and Congress are alike involved in the national injustice to the colored man.

Proceedings of Congress.

In the Senate, on Friday, April 1st, the House bill to provide a temporary government for the Territory of Montana was taken upon motion of Mr. Wade, the pending question being on the amendment of Mr. Wilkinson, of Minnesota, to strike out the words "free white male inhabitants," and inserting "the male citizens of the United States, or those who shall have declared their intention to become such." This clause refers to qualifications and eligibility to vote and to hold office. The amendment was adopted by a vote of 22 to 17. Among the nays were Senators Sherman and Trumbull.

The next day, in the House, Mr. Pendleton (Dem.) of Ohio called attention to the nature of this amendment. He said:

"The Senate's amendment was intended, and he thought it was so admitted, to give negroes the right to vote in the Territory at the first election. It was an amendment different from the provisions of any bill heretofore passed organizing a territorial government. It struck out the words 'white male inhabitants,' restricting as to color, and inserted 'male citizens of the United States.' He wanted gentlemen to understand that for the first time an effort was to be made by the Federal government to place the whites and negroes on a political equality in the Territories. Congress has passed since July 4, 1861, six bills organizing Territories, and each bill provided that all the white male inhabitants who are residents in the Territory should be qualified directors. The Chairman of the Committee on Territories had followed this precedent in the case of Montana, but the Senate had stricken out that clause and inserted as amendment permitting negroes to vote. We are making rapid progress beyond the positions laid down three years ago, when the Republican party came into power. He desired to call the attention of the House to this subject, so that they may, by their vote to-day, determine whether they were prepared to countenance—he did not say agree to—a course of legislation which will end in giving negroes the same political rights as a white man in the Territories."

Mr. Pendleton was not gratified. The House adhered to its committee of conference on the matter of disagreement to the Senate's amendment.

On Monday, April 4th, in the House, Mr. Davis of Maryland (Union), from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, reported the following joint resolution:

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States are unwilling by silence to leave the nations of the world under the impression that they are indifferent spectators of the deplorable events now transpiring in the Republic of Mexico.

Therefore they think it fit to declare that it does not accord with the people of the United States to acknowledge a Monarchical government erected on the ruins of any Republican government in America under the auspices of any European Power.

This resolution received a unanimous vote of 109 yeas, the motive of the Copperheads being easy to decipher. The language employed is dignified and void of menace, and undoubtedly expresses the sentiments of every lover of republican institutions.

On the same day, Mr. Morris of Ohio (Dem.) offered a resolution setting forth that:

Whereas, George Thompson, of England, in March, 1834, declared that the dissolution of this Union should be steadily kept in view; therefore,

Resolved, That the resolution heretofore passed, granting the use of this hall to the said George Thompson, on the evening of the 6th of April is hereby rescinded.

The effort at retraction was unsuccessful, in spite of the lie which is ushered in by the *whereas*. The belief in the necessity of a peaceful dissolution of the Union was not adopted from the first by the Abolitionists, nor was Mr. Thompson involved in the origin, or devoted to the propagation of the doctrine—"No Union with Slaveholders."

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

THE collision between armed Copperheads and the U. S. forces at Charleston, Illinois, reported early last week, was followed by a retreat of the assailants and the pursuit of the military. The upshot is not yet ascertained, though the rioters were said to be intrenched and ready for an engagement.

There have been various guerilla operations in Kentucky and Tennessee, which promise greater trouble to come. Kentucky is yet valuable to the Confederacy for its possible material, and actual moral support. It will continue to be a Mecca to the Southern invaders until the shrine of slavery has been demolished, and its priests banished from the soil of the State.

We have important news from the Department of the Gulf.

Franklin, La., has been evacuated by our forces, and the government stores there removed to Brashear City.

The Era of the 24th says:

On the 21st of March Gen. Mower made a reconnoisance up Red River as far as Natchitoches, where the rebel force was outflanked, and two hundred prisoners and four cannon captured. Natchitoches is sixty miles above Alexandria, and refugees from there state that large quantities of cotton, etc., remain on the plantations in that vicinity.

Another later account states that the affair took place at Bayou Rapids, twenty miles from Alexandria, and besides the above captures, large numbers of horses, mules, etc., were taken. Col. H. B. Sargent was severely wounded in the legs. The rebel force was part of Gen. Smith's infantry, and our force was a portion of Gen. Lee's cavalry.

The weather on Red River was cold, and the water in the river rising rapidly, which will much facilitate gunboat movements.

The troops were in fine spirits.

Natchitoches is the shire town of the parish of the same name, and is situated on Red River, seventy-five miles above Alexandria. It is 143 miles northwest of Baton Rouge. It is one of the oldest towns in Louisiana, being founded by the French in 1717.

Gen. Banks has instituted a Bureau for the instruction of the freedmen, and ordered a special tax to defray the expenses.

Our forces on the Red River have advanced from Fort De Russy, whose magazines were first exploded, and occupied Alexandria.

Owing to the remarkably low stage of water, the Rebels were unable to get a small steamer used as a ferry-boat, and a large and elegant one called the Falls City, laden with 3,000 bales of fine cotton, over the falls, and at the sight of the black clouds of smoke in the distance proceeding from our gunboats, they set them on fire, totally destroying both before our troops arrived.

Upward of four thousand bales of cotton have been confiscated and rescued by our gunboats since their arrival, and vast quantities are still being brought in through the instrumentality of the faithful negroes, who guide our men to the places of concealment.

The rebels are believed to have formidable rams higher up.

Of the war in Tennessee we have these particulars:

Gen. Forest was at Trenton at the latest advices.

It is reported that the Sixth Tennessee Cavalry, Col. Marsh, about six hundred strong, had a fight near Somerville, Tenn., on the 30th ult, with about fifteen hundred rebel cavalry, supposed to be part of Gen. McCullough's command.

Our forces, after fighting three or four hours, and finding themselves largely outnumbered, fell back, leaving fifty or sixty killed and wounded in the hands of the rebels.

The Connecticut election on Monday resulted in the thorough triumph of the Union party by some 8,000 majority. The gains over last year's vote are very large and very significant.

From St. Louis, complete returns indicate the election of James S. Thomas, the Radical candidate for Mayor, by from two thousand to twenty-five hundred majority. The new Council will have from four to six Radical majority.

Princeton, New Jersey, has elected a Union Mayor.

Foreign intelligence indicates that the Danes about hold their own. They have been successful in a naval engagement with the Prussian fleet, and the allied forces have abandoned the bombardment of a Danish stronghold. Denmark accepts the proposed conference on conditions.

Lord Ashburton is dead.

The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

THE BOUNTY TO COLORED SOLDIERS.

Hon. William Whiting, Solicitor of the War Department, has given the following opinion relative to the payment of bounty to free colored volunteers:

The Act of March 3, 1863, "for enrolling and calling out the national forces and for other purposes," as amended by the Act approved February 24, 1864, provides that "all able-bodied *male colored persons*, between the ages of twenty and forty-five years, resident in the United States, shall be *enrolled* and shall *form part of the national forces*, and shall be liable to draft.

Section 11th of the Act of 1863 provides that all persons thus *enrolled*, shall, when called into service, be placed on the same footing in all respects as volunteers for three years or during the war, including advance pay and bounty as now provided by law.

As these Acts now stand, they provide for thre classes of colored men:

1. Colored men who have been *enrolled* and *drafted*; these being entitled to the advance pay and bounty as provided for other volunteers.

2. Slaves of loyal masters who shall have been, or shall be, *drafted*.

3. Slaves of loyal masters who shall volunteer, or have volunteered.

In each case, besides the bounty or compensation paid to the master, the slave is entitled to his freedom.

No provision of bounty or pay is made in this Act *for free colored volunteers.*

Bills are now before Congress, which, if passed, will provide for the last mentioned class also, bounty and additional pay. WILLIAM WHITING,

Solicitor of the War Department.

March 5, 1864.

AN INTREPID COLOR-BEARER.

A brief recital of a few events may be worthy of notice in connection with the important part taken by the colored trops in the recent action at Oluskie. A full report of this action has been laid before your readers, but I will notice one simple instance of cool bravery, that came under my own observation: Color Sergeant Johnson, of Co. H, 1st N. C. (colored) troops, while nobly facing the foe had his right arm badly shattered by a minnie ball; nothing daunted, he kneeled and held high "the dear old flag," with his remaining arm, until he was compelled reluctantly to give it up. Shall we refuse protection to those who so nobly fight in our defense? God and humanity forbid!—*Cor. Worcester Transcript.*

EXPERIENCES IN MARYLAND.

SEVENTH U. S. COLORED TROOPS, CAMP STANTON, BENEDICT, Md., Saturday, March 20, 1864.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Let me briefly recount what has been done up to this time in the single State of Maryland, and what her black soldiers are. But a few of the many thousands of colored men now in the army have been enlisted here; they have as yet (this brigade at least) done no fighting work in the field, and yet their story is worth the telling—especially at this time, when the orders for their march have come, and any day may see them before the enemy.

But little more than six months ago Col. Wm. Birney was ordered to Baltimore to take charge of the recruiting of colored regiments in the service of the United States. In that time six regiments have been raised equipped and fitted for the field. Three, the First, Second and Fourth, are already at work, and are each day speaking for themselves. Two, the Seventh and Ninth, are now under marching orders and will very shortly move to action. One, the Nineteenth, is ready waiting orders. One other, the Thirtieth, is now being recruited. This is the work which has been done in Maryland. The men who compose the rank and file of these regiments were slaves. They heard the word that set them free and its condition—its only one—to become soldiers. They had but to hear it. They knew freedom only as a possibility, a something infinitely to be desired and prayed for, hardly to be hoped. They knew of the rebellion and its objects, as it concerned themselves; they knew the name, and only the name of the thing they sought, and that the success of the rebellion would be the final death blow to any attainment of their hope. They would have accepted freedom on any terms; the terms offered them were the very ones they themselves would have proposed—to fight tyranny.

The mothers who, with their simple and traditional knowledge of Him, had taught them to pray to God as their Father, had also taught them to pray to him as their Avenger—they had taught them, too, in a simple, ignorant way, truly, but none the less forcibly, to strike when the grand opportunity came. "Ah, Captain," said one of a large company of ragged recruits, "we done prayed for dis yer day all our lives; we can strike now for freedom; bress de Lord!" "Amen" was the solemn response of many a voice in the crowd. An aged negress shouted from the sidewalk in Baltimore as a portion of the Seventh Regiment passed down the street, "De Lord bress yer; yer is gwine to save my people!" One and all they knew the voice they had been taught to wait and listen for; and when it broke upon their ears—when the long and weary watch was over for them, and the day broke—it found them ready. It came to them in just the form they wanted it to come—freedom for them, and the chance to help win freedom for others. Thus they "leaped to manhood in one torrid hour."

There was no difficulty in filling the regiments; the difficulty was in providing fast enough for the flocking numbers. Those who, from physical disability, were rejected as not fit to bear arms, turned away in mute despair, or begged to be put to some work, however distantly connected with the great one their stronger brethren could perform. "Taint my fault dat my massa broke my leg wid a rail," said one; "I kin work like a horse yet." "I don't tink I'se quite forty yet," said a white-haired patriarch, who had seen another rejected who had confessed to fifty years.

With such a spirit; with such a desire they came. What bounty did they need beyond the boon of freedom? What guarantee did they demand beyond the guarantee that they should be permitted to fight?

And so these regiments were filled. The camp had been removed from the two contracted limits assigned it in the City of Baltimore to Benedict, on the Patuxent River, in Charles County, the very heart of Slavery in Maryland. With extraordinary aptness the men learned their duties. With the utmost cheerfulness they worked day after day till their Winter camp was completed, and then with alacrity turned to the real work of becoming soldiers. Of course there are among these soldiers many who learn slowly, or not at all—men with minds stupefied by the lives they have led or stupid from birth. Such men are found everywhere, and of every complexion, I speak of them as a whole when I say that their aptness for the drill and manual is remarkable, and would be remarkable in white troops. Very few regiments now in the service of the United States, even of the Regulars, can go through with the various manœuvres of a battalion drill with the accuracy and promptness of these two regiments, the Seventh and Ninth, who have been under instruction less than three months.

The *morale* of these soldiers is also remarkable. The general tone of the camp is of a very high order. There has been no single case of drunkenness, no case of insubordination, no case of serious misdemeanor. Punishment of any kind is rare, and, in every instance but one, has been of the lightest kind. The guard houses are empty, or at least, but very seldom occupied by a prisoner, and he confined only for the shortest period, and for an offence the result of carelessness and inattention, almost never for crime. What regiment three months in the service can say as much?

The officers of these regiments are young men who have entered the service because they believed in the cause. They are, of course, white men, and educated men. The government has wisely concluded that none but white men shall be commissioned, and none save those who have passed the ordeal of the Examining Board, under Gen. Casey, in Washington. This course secures two things. First, that the officers of the black troops shall be competent men, fitted for the positions they hold; secondly, that they shall be men who believe in the cause they are fighting for, and have faith in the peculiar material they are obliged to handle. Of these officers it is, of course, impossible for me to speak without appearing to be invidious. It is enough to know now, as we are starting to the field, that they are, so far as I know, with hardly an exception, men fully equal to the dignity and responsibility of their calling—men full of earnestness, full of courage; nearly all of them have proved it in the ranks on the field of battle; and full, too, of that great faith in the future and in themselves without which no army can hope for victory.

And so these two regiments start out upon this mission. What they can do remains for the future to tell; at least, they have shown themselves to be filled with the true ardor, the great spirit that makes soldiers and which teaches them the true courage. No man who has seen them can doubt that they will prove efficient. Place the question of their employment in what light you will, whether of expediency or philanthropy, I believe that no one who understands them and their efficiency, can hesitate to approve, that is to say, if he truly loves his country and desires the highest good of all mankind. If any man, with or without that knowledge, does not approve, I do not know that it will make any great difference in the end. The work has been begun, and revolutions, whether moral or physical, never go backward. W.

[We may add that both the Seventh and Ninth Regiments of United States Colored Troops mentioned above have been shipped from Maryland, and have arrived safely at Hilton Head, in the Department of the South. —*Ed. Times*]

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

Baltimore, March 24.—The volunteering of negro troops in Maryland is going on bravely. The bounty by the State and city is $500; Congress gives nothing. Colonel Bowman has charge of the recruiting of these forces. He is a most accomplished officer. The Nineteenth and Thirtieth United States colored regiments of his brigade are full. The Thirty-ninth and Forty-second are rapidly filling up. Nearly one-half of the slaves enlisting are unfit for military service, because of maltreatment and injuries in servitude. What a commentary on the diabolical system! The free negroes of the city are more able-bodied. If the wife and children of the volunteering slave were freed by the enlistment of the husband, there would not be a slave left in Maryland fit for service who would not hasten to the war.

The excitement among the negro population is intense. A series of negro mass meetings has been and still is in progress. Judge Bond, R. Stockett Mathews, Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, and other white men, have spoken. Mr. Campbell, Mr. Browser and other negro orators have won high distinction by their earnest speaking. It is admitted that they were not a whit behind their white brother speakers. And all this amongst a people who, three years ago, would have mobbed a negro mass meeting. We are getting on in Baltimore in spite of the holding back of the Administration, and we mean to wipe out slavery before the Fourth of July, 1864. S.

REVIEW OF COLORED TROOPS AT VICKSBURG.

Much has been speculated about the negro soldier. But with us it is a substantial institution, attested to by our general reviews—when colored soldiers appear in line with white soldiers, equal in numbers, fine as in appearance—and as ready in the manual of arms and battalion evolutions. The 22d of February was honored by a grand review of all the troops in this command under Gen. McArthur. The colored troops formed the left wing of the column, and made a prominent part of the programme, and elicited much comment by their soldierly appearance. The occasion was suggestive of reflection; the birth-day of the Father of his country, honored by a review of colored troops. We have colored Infantry, Artillery and Cavalry, and they have so far acquitted themselves with such bearing as to win the respect of parties once opposed to arming the negro.

FIRST MISSISSIPPI INFANTRY.

This is one of the oldest and bravest regiments in the valley, and won some distinction last Summer in that unequal contest at Milliken's Bend. The regiment met with a sad reverse a short time since while out on a foraging expedition in Arkansas. One company of twenty-five men were surprised, captured, stripped, shot down and bayonetted. The officer in command was stripped and deliberately shot in the mouth, the ball split his tongue and came out behind; although left for dead by the fiends, he lived ten days.

Col. A. W. Webber is a gallant young officer who has seen much service, and has the head and heart to see more than the "raw material" in his men. Lieut.-Col. Bryant is a nephew of the Poet; an officer and a gentleman. There is a school in the regiment conducted by the Chaplain; many of the men are learning to read and write, and make very commendable progress.

We have refreshing religious exercises. I am much impressed with the simplicity of their native style and faith. But am sorry to say there is much of fallen man to be seen among them, as has been remarked, "their goodness is very much like white peoples goodness, and their badness very much like white peoples badness."

Summary.

The Independent being asked to give its definition of a religious newspaper, answers, "*The Independent.*" Now, will it please define religion?—*Springfield Republican.*

It is hardly worth while; for our friend does not need the definition, but the thing itself.—*Independent.*

The friends of President Lincoln, far and near, will hear with profound regret of a personal calamity which has suddenly befallen him, and which he is unfortunately called upon to endure at a time when his public duties tax his whole strength. A contemporary refers to the case as follows:

"Thurlow Weed is writing 'Old Abe's' Life—campaign document."—*Independent.*

Over a hundred rebel prisoners (Kentuckians) who arrived at Point Lookout some days since were greatly astonished, not to say profoundly disgusted, to find that their guard consisted of negro soldiers. But they got over it when they found the black men as civil and as well disciplined as any others. Seventy-five Missourians at the same place have taken the oath.

THE STATUE OF THE LATE HON. HORACE MANN has been executed at Rome by Miss Stebbins, a young American artist, and a *protege* of Miss Charlotte Cushman. A correspondent says: "It is a very artistic production, and would do honor to any sculptor. The statement in foreign journals copied into some American papers, that this statue was the work of Miss Hosmer, is an error."

A *Tribune* correspondent at Dongola, Ill., describes one of a sort of ministers not uncommon in that Egypt: "His text was from 2d Samuel, 22d chapter, 34th verse: 'He maketh my feet like hind's feet, and setteth me in high places. As he could not read very well, he had mistaken 'hind's' for 'hen's,' and, upon this reading he had built his discourse, going on to show that as the feet of hens are made to hold fast to a stick or to the branch of a tree they sleep securely, while without such feet they would fall off. So it was in Christian life; the feet are faith, the branch is the promises which are taken hold of, and by this means the Christian is, according to the word, 'set up in high places'; and though the rain may fall, and the wind blow, he is safe. For more than half an hour he enlarged on the text in this manner, while his hearers wondered at his ability to explain the Scriptures. Again, speaking of himself and his preaching, he said he did not compare himself to St. Paul, because St. Paul understood English Grammar, and he did not."

VALLANDIGHAM OVERBOARD.—The Ohio Democracy held a Convention at Columbus lately, for the nomination of a State ticket and electing delegates to the Chicago Convention. Over one hundred and fifty delegates were present. A determined struggle arose between the two factions, resulting in the defeat of the Vallandighamers by a close vote. The friends of that "martyr" brought him forward as a candidate for delegate to Chicago, and on a ballot the vote stood—

For Vallandigham.....221

For Judge Rauney.....216

being a majority of five against the gentleman who watches and waits over the border. Thereupon quite a number of his "friends" retired from the Convention in disgust.

THE TYPE-SETTING MACHINE COMPANY had a hearing before the Committee on Manufactures, upon their petition to be allowed to commence business immediately. Several prominent gentlemen in the printing interest testified to the value of the invention and the necessity of pushing it forward promptly. Our readers have been kept informed of the progress of the enterprise from time to time since Mr. Pratt has brought his invention to Boston, some five years ago, and all will rejoice to know that the task has been finally accomplished by the "justification" of type "more perfectly and uniformly even than by the ordinary hand process," as testified by a practical printer, who has recently witnessed the operation.—*Boston Transcript.*

The blackguard practice of smoking in the public streets prevails here to a great extent. It is particularly obnoxious between nine and ten o'clock in the morning. Young men who look as if their mothers might have taught them better, and others who are old enough to know better without teaching, go puffing at their sickly rolls of tobacco and doing their best to pollute the fresh morning air, and eject their saliva on the sidewalks for the accommodating skirts of the women to wipe up. The dress, however, of a passenger in the street happens in this country to be no index of good manners. Those who smoke in the streets are probably the same class who perform the nasal emunction with the fingers.—*Eve. Post.*

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGES AND SPEECHES.—A statement recently appeared in a newspaper in relation to Mr. Lincoln's messages and speeches. Among other things it was stated in the article that Mr. Chase wrote the concluding paragraph in the Emancipation proclamation. Mr. Wilkes intimates that Mr. Seward wrote the Gettysburg speech of the President. These statements have attracted the attention of Mr. Lincoln, and I hear that he pronounces them entirely erroneous. Every public document of his, since he became President, but one, he asserts, is his own composition. That exception is the Address to the English clergymen. Mr. Seward wrote it. The Gettysburg speech was entirely Mr. Lincoln's composition. The Proclamation, his friends say, he claims as his own also. His Inaugural message was certainly amended by Mr. Seward, for the document as it was sent off by the telegraph is now in this city, and Mr. Seward's interlineations are to be seen in the manuscript, or rather in the printed copy, for the message was first printed for the President's private use, and, if my memory serves me, this was done before he came to Washington.—*Washington Cor. Eve. Post.*

OLD TIMES AND PRESENT TIMES.—In this journal for Monday, March 38th, was the following passage in a telegraphic dispatch: "The Senate took up the bill amendatory of the Constitution to prohibit slavery, Mr. Trumbull addressing the Senate at length in support of the bill." On Saturday evening last Senator Trumbull left Washington for New York, on a visit to the afflicted Mrs. Lovejoy, and after attending the morning service in Plymouth Church (Rev. Henry Ward Beecher's), Brooklyn, left New York for Washington Sunday evening. Thus it appears that after two successive nights' travelling, he was at his post on Monday delivering a long and able speech in favor of the most important bill before the present Congress. Contrast this with the following: When Congress began its sessions in Philadelphia, Senator Strong

Miscellaneous Department.

TOO LATE.

BY PHŒBE CARY.

Blessings, alas! unmerited,
Freely as evening dews are shed
Each day on my unworthy head.

So that my very sins but prove
The singleness of Him above
And his unutterable love.

And yet, as if no ear took heed,
Not what I ask, but what I need,
Comes down in answer, when I plead.

So that my heart with anguish cries,
My soul almost within me dies,
'Twixt what he gives and what denies.

For whoso'er with good it teems,
The life accomplished never seems
The blest fulfillment of its dreams.

Therefore, when nearest happiness,
I only say, "The thing I miss—
That would have perfected my bliss."

When harvests great are mine to reap,
Too late, too late, I sit and weep,
My best-beloved lies asleep!

Sometimes my griefs are hard to bear,
Sometimes my comforts I would share,
And the one dearest is not here.

That which is mine to-day, I know,
Had made a paradise below,
Only a little year ago.

The very sunshine we did crave,
As having almost power to save,
Keeps but the greenness of a grave.

To have our dear one safe from gloom,
We planned a fair and pleasant room,
And lo! fate builded up a tomb.

An empty heart, with cries unstilled,
An empty house, with love unfilled,
These are the things our Father willed.

And bowing to Him, as we must,
Whose name is Love, whose way is just,
We have no refuge, but our trust.

—*Independent.*

GEN. BUTLER IN NEW ORLEANS.*

Very few Englishmen will, we fear, condescend to read a eulogistic life of Gen. Benjamin Butler. Arriving at a moment when the country was sympathizing fiercely with the South, yet half ashamed of its sympathy, his famous Order 28 at New Orleans gave the required excuse, no inquiry was made, no defence allowed, but Gen. Butler was at once set down as the type and flower of all that was evil in Yankee training, Yankee manners, and Yankee disposition towards its foes. The Northern friends of secession caught back the cry from England, Gen. Butler was considered a safe mark, and for months he was attacked as the incarnation of spite, despotism, and corruption. It was not till he quitted New Orleans that a reaction set in, and even now, though his countrymen have forgiven him, it is with a sense that there was much to forgive which has stirred up Mr. Parton to this biography. It is worth reading, for Mr. Parton has before him a character which he, the biographer of Andrew Jackson, thoroughly understands, and though he writes as a eulogist, he is so far truthful that his hero's acts may be judged by indifferent readers pretty readily from unconscious admissions. Gen. Butler appears in his pages very much what his portrait would indicate—a stern, efficient, straightforward tyrant, without the smallest disposition to cruelty, but with an inflexible determination to make his own cause succeed, upright as a politician, and personally kind, but with a certain coarseness of fibre in his moral composition offensive to men of more refined or softer habits of thought. For instance, he recommended Mr. Buchanan to arrest the Commissioners who announced the vote of secession as traitors, and try them before the Supreme Court, as a means of testing the validity of the ordinance. The act would have been legal enough, the Supreme Court being the one tribunal with power to decide between a State and the Union, but finer-nerved men felt instinctively that the Commissioners were in reality men bearing a flag of truce, and that their arrest would be considered by North and South a gross breach of honorable faith. Gen. Butler did not see it, and replied to the indignant question of Mr. Ord, "Would you hang us?" by the grim joke, "Certainly not, unless you were found guilty." That is the man; always efficient, always within the law, but obtuse to those considerations which involve a mingling of morality and taste; and Jacobin in the lengths to which he would carry his resolves.

Gen. Butler is the grandson of an old soldier of the War of Independence, Capt. Zephaniah Butler, of Connecticut, who had fought under Gen. Wolfe at Quebec, and the son of John Butler, of New Hampshire, who enlisted in the volunteers who followed Jackson at New Orleans. Losing his father at an early age, he went to the district school, and afterwards to Waterville, a Baptist college, where a student was expected to train himself for the ministry, but also to do three hours' manual labor as a contribution towards his expenses. The labor was expended on chair-making, and the professors seem all to have been clergymen of the very narrowest type. Young Butler, however, was not of the lads whom professors mould, and he grew up with a powerful frame, a keen, self-willed, Yankee spirit, and a sense of half scorn for almost all above him of which we must quote one comic and characteristic instance. It was the custom of Waterville to compel the students to attend morning prayer by a fine, which Butler, being exceedingly poor, felt as a hardship. One day one of the professors preached a sermon full of Jonathan Edwards's theology.

"1. The Elect, and the Elect alone, will be saved. 2. Of the people, commonly called Christians, probably not more than one in a hundred will be saved. 3. The heathen have a better chance of salvation than the inhabitants of Christian countries who neglect their opportunities. Upon these lines the young gentleman spake. He drew up a petition to the faculty, couched in the language of profound respect, asking to be excused from further attendance at prayers and sermons, on the grounds so ably sustained in the discourse of the preceding Sunday. If, he said, the doctrine of that sermon was sound, of which he would not presume to entertain a doubt, he was only preparing for himself a future of more exquisite anguish by attending religious services. He begged to be allowed to remind the faculty that the church in which the sermon was preached had usually a congregation of six hundred persons, nine of whom were his revered professors and tutors; and as only one in a hundred of ordinary Christians could be saved, three even of the faculty, good men as all of them were, were inevitably damned. Could he, a mere student, and not one of the most exemplary, expect to be saved before his superiors? Far be it from him a thought so presumptous. Shakspeare himself had intimated that the lieutenant cannot expect salvation before his military superior. Nothing remained, therefore, for him but perdition. In this melancholy posture of affairs it became him to beware of heightening his future torment by listening to the moving eloquence of the pulpit, or availing himself of any of the privileges of religion. But here he was met by the college laws, which compelled attendance at chapel and church; which imposed a pecuniary fine for non-attendance, and entailed a loss of the honors due to his scholarship. Threatened thus with damnation in the next world, bankruptcy and disgrace in this, he implored the merciful consideration of the faculty, and asked to be excused from all further attendance at prayers and at church."

The professors treated this cool logic as irreverent, but did not expel the logician, who after several furious contests against dogmatic theology quitted college, "weighing only ninety-seven pounds," but resolved to become a lawyer. He went first, however, on a two years' cruise to the cod fishery off Labrador, an occupation which completely restored his health, and then returning to Lowell, read law, fought the mill-girl suits, taught in a school, and by eighteen hours' work a day managed to keep body and soul together. A Yankee readiness and adroitness, a keen wit and inexhaustible contentiousness, soon, however, brought him practice. He became a leading barrister, and studied every trade, machine, interest, and science with which he came in contact, gradually came to be regarded as the soul and chief of the Hunker Democrats of Massachusetts *i. e.*, Democrats who would let slavery alone, and was the Breckinridge candidate for the governorship of the State. This, when the war broke out, marked him out for command. He claimed as a Brigadier-General of militia to lead his brigade, and Gov. Andrew, not sorry, perhaps, to be rid of a possible rival, gave him the commission. We have no space to follow Gen. Butler's career in Baltimore and Fortress Monroe, and need only mention that his counsel was always for decided and rapid action, and that the famous expression, "Slaves are contraband of war," which commenced the work of emancipation was his. He was selected to command the expedition against New Orleans as the only man who honestly believed it could be taken, and took it, greatly assisted by Commodore Farragut, commanding the attacking fleet.

New Orleans, however, though captured was not subdued. The city had been for years the headquarters and focus of all Southern rowdyism. An immense crowd of "loafers," many without regular occupation or means, infested the streets, controlled the ballot-boxes, nominated the judges, selected the police, and affected to rule every one except a few immensely wealthy planters, who governed them by money. These rowdies had gradually dissolved society till New Orleans had become the most bloodthirsty city in the world—a city where every man went armed, where a sharp word was invariably answered by a stab, and where the average of murdered men taken to one hospital was three a day. The mob were bitter advocates of slavery, held all Yankees in abhorence, and guided by the astute brain of Pierre Soulé, whilom ambassador to Spain, resolved to contest with Gen. Butler the right to control the city. They might as well have contested it with Buonaparte. The first order issued by the General indicated a policy from which he never swerved. The mob had surrounded the St. Charles Hotel, threatening an attack on the building, then the General's headquarters, and Gen. Williams, commanding the troops round it, reported that he would be unable to control the mob. "Gen. Butler, in his serenest manner, replied, 'Give my compliments to Gen. Williams, and tell him if he finds he cannot control the mob to open upon them with artillery.'" The mob did that day endeavor to seize Judge Summers, the Recorder, and he was only saved by the determined courage of Lieut. Kinsman, in command of an armed party. From this moment the General assumed the attitude he never abandoned, that of master of New Orleans, intending and often doing justice, but making his own will the law. He at first retained the municipal organization, but finding the officials incurably hostile he sent them to Fort Lafayette, and thenceforward ruled alone, feeding the people, reestablishing trade, maintaining public order, and seeing that negroes obtained some reasonable measure of security. Their evidence was admitted, "Louisiana having, when she went out of the Union, taken her black code with her," the whipping-house was abolished, and all forms of torture sternly prohibited. That he was occasionally severe seems certain, but not so certain as that nothing but severity could have restrained New Orleans. There never was, since Gomorrah fell, such another city. We have spoken of the rowdies, these were the respectables:

"A lieutenant searched a certain house in New Orleans, in which Confederate arms were reported to be concealed. Arms and tents were found stowed in the garret, which were removed to that grand depository of contraband articles, the Custom House. A gentleman of venerable aspect, with long white hair and a form bent with permature old age, was the occupant of the house from which the arms and tents were taken. In the twilight of an evening soon after the search the most fearful screams were heard proceeding from the yard of the house, as if a human being was suffering there the utmost that a mortal can endure of agony. A sentinal who was pacing his beat near by ran into the yard, where he beheld a hideous spectacle. A young mulatto girl was stretched upon the ground on her face, her feet tied to a stake, her hands held by a black man, her back uncovered from neck to heels. The venerable old gentlemen with the flowing white hair was *seated* in an arm-chair by the side of the girl; at a distance convenient for his purpose. He held in his hand a powerful horse-whip, with which he was lashing the delicate and sensitive flesh of the young girl. Her back was covered with blood. Every stroke of the infernal instrument of torture tore up her flesh in long dark ridges. The soldier, aghast at the sight, rushed to the guard-house, and reported what he had seen to his sergeant, and the sergeant ran to headquarters and told the General. Gen. Butler sent him flying back to stop the old miscreant, and ordered him to bring the torturer and his victim to headquarters the next morning."

The single defence offered by the white-haired old gentleman, who had in the meanwhile pickled the girl's back, was that he had a right to do as he liked with his own servant. Butler sent him to Fort Jackson, where, says Mr. Parton, in a burst of anger which a man does right to feel, "I am happy to say he died within a month." Still worse stories were investigated by the General, and his contact with slavery seems gradually to have worked all pro-slavery tenets out of his mind. At all events he levied three regiments of colored men, compelled the planters to treat the slaves as hired freemen, so subjugated the mob that New Orleans became as safe as Boston, and while feeding the people made the city healthy by a well-devised drainage. No one after reading Mr. Parton's account can doubt that he was a benefactor to New Orleans.

There remain the four great charges against Gen. Butler—the execution of Mumford for hauling down the flag, the "woman order," the treatment of Mrs. Philips, and personal corruption. On the first charge any soldier who reads the evidence pronounce an instant acquittal, Mumford's act being, in truth, the final attempt of the mob to override the authority which represented law and order. On the second, Mr. Parton has not changed our opinion. There never was the slightest intention that any woman should be outraged, but the wording of the order *was* intended to place any woman who insulted the Union, *i. e.*, displayed strong political feeling, on a level with street-walkers, and was a needless insult, betokening grievous want of tact, judgment, and delicacy of feeling. It succeeded, like every other measure of Gen. Butler's, and his troops were New Englanders who do not insult women; but it was descreditable alike to him and to men whose irritation at female contempt induced him to issue it. In the case of Mrs. Philips, the General must be pronounced harsh, abitary and unjust. She had laughed, he said, when the remains of a Yankee officer went by, a mere bit of woman's spite at worst, and one which she strenuously denied, and the General sentenced her, in an order calling her a bad, dangerous woman, to Ship Island. She was, however, allowed a servant, and released after a few weeks' detention. We must add that the story circulated in London by Northerners to explain the act, an attack on Mrs. Philips's character, was a blunder made also in New Orleans, a very notorious person of the same name having been mistaken for her. Lastly, as to the charge of corruption, we can give no decided opinion. It seems proved that Gen. Butler never in any case of any kind took money for official acts, and the only question is whether his official power had helped his brother to the accumulation of the very great fortune which Mr. Parton admits he made in a very short time. Our own impression is that the General was not corrupt in the ordinary sense of the term, but that with his usual obtuseness to the finer delicacies of life he did not object to his brother using the immense consideration the connection gave him to further his own speculations. However that may be, this biography leaves on our minds no doubt that the Union possesses in Gen. Butler a man of rare and original capacity, extraordinarily fitted for constructive administration, and without any tendency to cruelty, though with that indifference to the feelings of others so often marked in very strong men. Of all the men who fill our European history the one he is most like—strangely like—is Frederick the Great.—*London Spectator.*

**Gen. Butler in New Orleans.* History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862; with an Account of the Capture of New Orleans, and a Sketch of the Previous Career of the General, Civil and Military. By James Parton. New York: Mason Brothers. 1864.

OPPOSITION OF THE CHURCH TO REFORMS.

Men ridicule anything above the common level of goodness as being pharisaical, ismatical; and even ministers and churches have been found ridiculing the tendencies to heroism in the community. For, alas! since the world began, if it had not been for the religion outside of the church, churches would have led the world to destruction. Institutions of religion are always running down. That which has saved the world is the free spirit of religion outside of these institutions. I do not mean that spirit which is represented by good and holy men outside of churches, but the influence of individual reformers that shoot beyond the churches. It is the spirit of the living God moving on the conscience of the community. Men say that the church has saved the Bible. I say that the Bible has saved the church ten thousand times over. You shall find that, when great questions come up in a community, churches do not go ahead. You cannot make them. Churches are like the baggage-wagons of an army. They carry the provisions and indispensable things; but, after all, baggage-wagons never go first in a march. And the church is so busy taking care of the things which it carries, that it has no time to devote to new things that present themselves. Reforms hardly ever originate in churches. I am not speaking against churches; I am merely putting them where they put themselves, and saying that tendencies to unusual conduct in the application of Gospel principles to new questions are oftentimes ridiculed by ministers, and rejected from pulpits, and refused places in conference meetings, and stigmatized by church members as being fanatical. Well, if you that are extreme on the slavery question, seeing yourselves in a mirror as you were five years ago, should do to yourselves as five years ago you did to men who stood where you now stand, every one of you would be sitting and pointing his own finger in his own face, and saying, "Hiss! hiss!" Five years ago you were hissing at extreme Abolitionists. You were Anti-Slavery men, but no Abolitionists! You hated slavery as much as anybody else; but this and that particular measure you did not approve of! You did not believe in extreme measures or extreme men. Now see what a change a little circumstance has caused. God, by war, has brought the North substantially together. The clearest river is not so clear that there will not be some mud at the bottom of it; and though the people are substantially together, yet there is some detritus, some sediment, some mud. But pretty much all that is good for anything is one way now at the North. Men are not afraid to be called Anti-Slavery men. The term Anti-Slavery is not strong enough for them. They say, "I am an *Abolitionist.*" And they are men that, five years ago, would have grown red in the face if I had spoken strongly against slavery. Some men that did, have come to me and laughed at their former follies, and said, "I am with you now; I stand where you stand." But was the truth different five years ago from what it is now? No. Justice was the same then that it is now; and so was liberty; so was right; so was God; so was man. The change has not been in moral principles. Developments have now given you an opportunity to come out in their favor. Five years ago you had not stamina enough to do it. You did not dare to stand up and say, "I go for right, for justice, and for liberty, without regard to circumstances." You were not heroic. Now it is too easy to do this, to admit of heroism. I am glad you are where you are; I am glad that you feel as you feel; but you must not say, "I am heroic." No man is heroic for running down hill. —*H. W. Beecher, Sermon on Heroism.*

THE WRECK OF RIVERMOUTH.* 1657.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Rivermouth Rocks are fair to see,
By dawn or sunset shone across,
When the ebb of the sea has left them free
To dry their fringes of gold-green moss;
For there the river comes winding down
From salt-sea meadows and uplands brown,
And waves on the outer rocks afoam
Shout to its waters, "Welcome home!"

And fair are the sunny isles in view
East of the grisly Head of the Boar,
And Agamenticus lifts its blue
Disk of a cloud the woodlands o'er;
And southerly, when the tide is down,
'Twixt white sea-waves and sand-hills brown,
The beach-birds dance and the gray gulls wheel
Over a floor of burnished steel.

Once, in the old Colonial days,
Two hundred years ago and more,
A boat sailed down through the winding ways
Of Hampton river to that low shore,
Full of a goodly company
Sailing out on the Summer sea,
Veering to catch the land-breeze light,
With the Boar to left and the Rocks to right.

In Hampton meadows, where mowers laid
Their scythes to the swaths of salted grass,
"Ah, well a-day! our hay must be made!"
A young man sighed, who saw them pass.
Loud laughed his fellows to see him stand
Whetting his scythe with a listless hand,
Hearing a voice in a far-off song,
Watching a white hand beckoning long.

"Fie on the witch!" cried a merry girl,
As they rounded the point where Goody Cole
Sat at her door with her wheel atwirl,
A bent and blear-eyed poor old soul.
"Oho!" she muttered, "ye're brave to-day!
But I hear the little waves laugh and say,
'The broth will be cold that waits at home;
For its one to go, but another to come!'"

"She's curst," said the skipper, "speak her fair,
I'm scary always to see her shake
Her wicked head, with its wild gray hair,
And nose like a hawk, and eyes like a snake."
But merrily still, with laugh and shout,
From Hampton river the boat sailed out,
Till the huts and flakes on Star seemed nigh,
And they lost the scent of the pines of Rye.

They dropped their lines in the lazy tide,
Drawing up haddock and mottled cod;
They saw not the Shadow that walked beside,
They heard not the feet with silence shod.
But thicker and thicker the hot mist grew,
Shot by the lightnings through and through;
And muffled growls, like the growls of a beast,
Run along the sky from west to east.

Then the skipper looked from the darkening sea
Up to the climmed and wading sun;
But he spake like a brave man cheerily,
"Yet there is time for our homeward run."
Veering and tacking, they backward wore;
And just as a breath from the woods ashore
Blew out to whisper of danger past,
The wrath of the storm came down at last!

The skipper hauled at the heavy sail:
"God be our help!" he only cried,
As the roaring gale, like the stroke of a flail,
Smote the boat on its starboard side.
The Shoalsman looked, but saw alone
Dark films of rain-cloud slantwise blown,
Wild rocks lit up by lightning's glare,
The strife and torment of sea and air.

Goody Cole looked out from her door:
The Isles of Shoals were drowned and gone,
Scarcely she saw the Head of the Boar
Toss the foam from tusks of stone.
She clasped her hands with a grip of pain,
The tear on her cheek was not of rain;
"They are lost," she muttered, "boat and crew;
Lord, forgive me! my words were true!"

Suddenly seaward swept the squall;
The low sun smote through cloudy rack;
The Shoals stood clear in the light, and all
The trend of the coast lay hard and black.
But far and wide as eye could reach,
No life was seen upon wave or beach;
The boat that went out at morning, never
Sailed back again into Hampton river.

O mower, lean on thy bended snath,
Look from the meadows green and low:
The wind of the sea is a waft of death,
The waves are singing a song of woe!
By silent river, by moaning sea,
Long and vain shall thy watching be:
Never again shall the sweet voice call,
Never the white hand rise and fall!

O Rivermouth Rocks, how sad a sight
Ye saw in the light of breaking day!
Dead faces looking up cold and white
From sand and sea-weed where they lay!
The mad old witch-wife wailed and wept,
And cursed the tide as it backward crept:
"Crawl back, crawl back, blue-water-snake!
Leave your dead for the hearts that break!"

Solemn it was in that old day
In Hampton town and its log-built church,
Where side by side the coffins lay,
And the mourners stood in aisle and porch.
In the singing-seats young eyes were dim,
The voices faltered that raised the hymn,
And Father Dalton, grave and stern,
Sobbed through his prayer and wept in turn.

But his ancient colleague did not pray,
Because of his sin at fourscore years:
He stood apart, with the iron-gray
Of his strong brows knitted to hide his tears.
And a wretched woman, holding her breath
In the awful presence of sin and death,
Coward and shrank, while her neighbors thronged
To look on the dead her shame had wronged.

Apart with them, like them forbid,
Old Goody Cole looked drearily round,
As two by two, with their faces hid,
The mourners walked to the burying-ground.
She let the staff from her clasped hands fall:
"Lord, forgive us! we sinners all!"
And the voice of the old man answered her:
"Amen!" said Father Bachiler.

So, as I sat upon Appledore
In the calm of a closing Summer day,
And the broken lines of Hampton shore
In purple mist of cloudland lay,
The Rivermouth Rocks their story told;
And waves aglow with sunset gold,
Rising and breaking in steady chime,
Beat the rhythm and kept the time.

And the sunset paled, and warmed once more
With a softer, tenderer after-glow;
In the east was moon-rise, with boats off-shore,
And sails in the distance drifting slow.
The beacon glimmered from Portsmouth bar,
The White Isle kindled its great red star;
And life and death in my old-time lay
Mingled in peace like the night and day!

* See *Norfolk County Records*, 1657; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, No. II., p. 162. The moral lapse of the first minister of Hampton, at the age of fourscore, is referred to in the third number of the same periodical. Goody Cole, the Hampton witch, was twice imprisoned for the alleged practice of her arts. —*Atlantic Monthly for April.*

GRACE GREENWOOD IN THE ARMY.

Headquarters First Division, Second Corps, Army of the Potomac, March 22.—Among the pleasant and distinguished visitations of citizens to this corps during our Winter encampment, we are glad to note the late arrival of the eminent authoress and lecturer, Grace Greenwood. She arrived at Gen. Caldwell's headquarters on Wednesday, the 16th, and gave her popular lecture, "The Silver Lining of the War Cloud," before the First Division Lecture Association the same evening. The hall was crowded to its utmost capacity by the officers of the 2d corps and their civilian friends, among whom were thirty or forty ladies. Maj.-Gen. Warren and lady, Gen. Caldwell and lady, Gens. Owen and Kilpatrick, with many other distinguished persons, were present, and at the close of the exercises paid their respects to the lecturer at Gen. Caldwell's quarters.

At 8 o'clock the lecturer was introduced by Lieut. Burch, President of the Association, to an expectant and brilliant audience, and delighted them for an hour with one of the finest literary and patriotic treats to which we have listened for many a day. Allusions to Gens. Sumner, Kearney, Richardson, Lander, and Baker, Ellsworth and Winthrop, brought down the house with a succession of enthusiastic cheers. Several patriotic and humorous allusions to Mr. Lincoln were responded to with the wildest demonstrations of applause. We do not remember to have witnessed in any assembly a more profound impression of sadness and regret than Grace Greenwood inspired in that audience by her tender delineation of young Dahlgren's beautiful life and heroic death. On Thursday—St. Patrick's day—in company with Gen. Caldwell and party, she was present at the hurdle races, and enjoyed the festive sports of the occasion with much relish.

On Friday evening she gave us a rare literary treat in her lecture room upon "Washington, London, and Rome." During the afternoon the report of a rebel demonstration in our front brought the entire corps under arms, and was made the occasion of a happy hit in the evening upon Gens. Warren, Webb, Kilpatrick, Caldwell and Owen, and drew forth round after round of applause. On Saturday evening she repeated the first lecture, by general request, before the enlisted men of the 1st division. On Monday, in company with a gay and elegant party, she visited the picket lines on the Rapidan, and gave her last lecture—"The Men and Women of Twenty Years Hence"—in the evening, before the Association, to a densely-crowded house. Her success could not have been more complete. We shall long remember with pleasure and pride the noble, stirring words of Grace Greenwood, in behalf of justice, liberty and law.—*Washington Chronicle.* Red Jacket.

REBEL TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

FROM GEN. NEAL DOW'S SPEECH AT PORTLAND.

You have heard from high authority that the people of the South are semi-barbarians. Educated, so far as they are educated at all, in a disregard of the rights of 4,000,000 of their fellow-men; accustomed as they are to see the rights of others trampled in the dust, and undertaking to subsist upon their unrecompensed labor, they learn to disregard the rights of everybody else, in their intercourse with both blacks and whites. You see it in their intercourse with each other. The Union prisoners have come in contact with this feeling very largely. I would not be understood that there are no cultivated people at the South. The Union prisoners have come in contact with such a people and they have experienced the most barbarous treatment. From the Confederate soldiers at the front, they have experienced kind and courteous treatment. But from the "Home Guards" it has been more barbarous than any prisoners of war have suffered since the days of the "Black Hole" of Calcutta. I know of nothing in the history of war, to compare with the shameful treatment of the Union prisoners at Richmond and Atlanta, Georgia.

A large quantity of clothing and blankets was sent to my care to be distributed to the soldiers. I was permitted to visit them for the purpose of distributing the articles. Passing around the camp at Belle Isle, I saw the wretched condition of our soldiers as to clothing and quarters. Nearly one-half of them were without shelter of any kind, and all were in extreme want of clothing. As I passed around the camp, they cried to me to send them food. Shelterless and almost naked, as many of them were, their first want was food—their chief suffering was from hunger. On my return to Richmond, I addressed a note to Gen. Winder, in command there, stating that one-half the soldiers were without shelter, and all without sufficient food, and asking his immediate attention to their miserable condition. The result was, that I was not permitted to visit the soldiers any more, their condition was not alleviated, and these stores were put into the hands of another officer who would conduct himself toward the Rebel authorities with a great deal more forbearance than I was supposed to be capable of. Soldiers perished there at about the rate of 500 per month, during the Winter months, as we were informed.

As I was at Belle Isle, I went into the hospital, consisting of tents without any floor, the sick lying upon the ground without blankets, without pillows, some of them with sticks of wood for pillows, and on protesting to Gen. Winder against this treatment, I was refused permission to visit these poor creatures for the future. The government sent large quantities of provisions to the soldiers as well as the officers. Much of this was stolen, so that Yankee overcoats promenading the streets of Richmond, drew so much attention that they caused these coats to be colored black. They were ashamed to be seen with Yankee overcoats stolen from the poor suffering soldiers. Large quantities of food as well as of clothing were sent there by the Sanitary Commission also, and these were stolen by the Rebel authorities and appropriated to their own use in large amounts. A very small proportion of these reached our soldiers.

Libby prison was a great tobacco warehouse, or rather three tobacco warehouses, three stories high upon the front, four stories upon the rear, separated by brick walls through which doors were cut. Our officers were placed in these rooms with bare walls, bare floors, and without any blankets.

When I arrived there, I was clad in the lightest Summer clothes. It was a cold October night, and my sufferings must have been extreme, but for the kindness of my fellow-officers in supplying me with garments and blankets. After a while a great quantity of blankets was sent by the Sanitary Commission, which made us comparatively comfortable, but we were treated in no other respect than as so many negroes sent to Richmond to a barracoon for sale. An officer who had a very extensive acquaintance at the South, said we were not nearly so well treated as that, for blacks sent for sale were kindly cared for that they might bring a better price. The Union officers were treated as so many cattle turned into a slaughter-pen or barn to sleep. Confederate officers in the hands of Union authorities were treated courteously and kindly; that is right.

A little incident occurred to myself which will illustrate the point of the difference of treatment between their prisoners and ours. I was exchanged for Gen. Lee. As I was called down to pass off, I had two large trunks to take away. I could obtain no assistance in transporting them, no dray or other mode of conveyance. Some of my fellow-officers kindly tendered their assistance, and we carried them between us through the streets of Richmond to the steamer, on which we were ordered upon the forward deck and forbidden to come abaft the wheels. We were situated on the steamer like so many cattle, slaves or swine on the way to market. At City Point we met Gen. Lee in the magnificent saloon of the Federal steamer, New York, we ourselves emerging from the forward deck of the dirty rebel steamer. When Gen. Lee and his fellow-officers were ready to change steamers, the General stooped to take his small valise, when the Union officer in command said to a soldier near, "Sergeant, take the General's valise on board for him!" I mention this to show the sort of treatment we received down South, and that which the rebels meet with when they fell into our hands; they are treated kindly, courteously; we rudely, barbarously. We don't complain, because we will strike a balance with them one of these days (cries of "good," and cheers).

The rations supplied by the rebels to the Union officers at Richmond, are unfit for human food, and incapable of sustaining life in a healthy condition. They consist only of a small quantity of bread made of corn meal, unsifted and manufactured in the worst manner, and about half a gill of rice two or three times a week. Occasionally, a single medium sized potatoe or three or four small ones are given to each man, and, three or four times, a small turnip has been given to each. And this is all. For a time, supplies sent by friends to the officers were honestly and promptly delivered to them, but for some weeks before I left Richmond, this was not done, and there were accumulated there more than 4,000 boxes sent to officers, which had been detained from them. These boxes are now systematically plundered by the officials of their most valuable contents, especially of clothing. Union officers are subjected to the most humiliating treatment by the prison officials.

The Sanitary Commission sent to my care great quantities of comforts and luxuries for the use of the officers. A small quantity of these was delivered, but the greater part of them was retained by the rebel officials for their own use and for sale. In our purchases we found many of these Sanitary goods, stolen by the officials and sold to us at enormous prices.

The rations furnished to the privates consisted *entirely of corn bread of miserable quality* and insufficient quantity, which produces derangement in the digestive organs, and death. The soldiers are slowly wasting away, and die of sheer starvation and cold. Two of them, sent off from Richmond at the same time with myself, died of exhaustion before reaching Annapolis.

These poor creatures were reduced to such a state of extreme suffering that many of them were demented. They could not tell the name of their Colonel or the number of their regiment. One of them had become perfectly idiotic from long protracted suffering, many of them having slept all Winter in the open air, with no shelter, and without overcoats or blankets. They were all supplied at the commencement of the Winter with both, sent them by the U. S. government, but they were compelled to sell them, in many instances, to procure the means of subsistence, their rations not being sufficient to support them in a state of health.

[The testimony of other prisoners confirms that of Gen. Dow. Says the Annapolis (Md.) correspondnnt of *The Tribune*:

The last arrival of paroled prisoners from Richmond aid much toward filling the excellent hospital at the Naval Academy, in charge of Dr. Vanderkeift. A number of the poor, emaciated, broken-spirited fellows have already died, and the kind Surgeon tells me that some fifty others will join the army of the dead. If there be one person North who doubts the harsh treatment the rebels give our prisoned relatives, let him or her come to Annapolis and look at the wrecks of humanity which the cold waves of rebel cowardice and indifference have stranded upon the shore of the River Severn. The old quotation came forcibly to mind:

"The Avon to the Severn runs,
The Severn to the sea,
And Wicklyffe's blood shall spread abroad
Wide as the waters be."

And as Libby's loathsome walls rose in imagination before me, I thought of the "*Retaliation! Retaliation!*" written all over those walls by our brave fellows.

The reminiscenes of the returned officers from Libby are in the main similar, and mostly a repetition of the old tale. The officers explain the dodge by which we have been made to believe that the boxes sent from home and by the Sanitary Commission have been or are being delivered, thus: When a flag of truce boat arrives, the rebels distribute a few boxes, but stop the moment the next batch of released prisoners are off. These men seeing the distribution going on, announce that fact at home. It is averred by more than one officer cognizant of the facts, that there have been at least 2,000 boxes received by the rebels, but never distributed, some of which are now on hand. The method of giving the contents of a box to its owner is somewhat ingenious, but quite destructive. The fortunate possessor is required to bring his blanket and spread it on the ground. The box is opened, and package after package taken out and examined. Cheeses are cut into inch pieces and pitched into the blanket. Cans of condensed milk are perforated with a steel pointed baton and follow suit. Packages of coffee, tea, sugar, salt, etc., are torn open and poured into the conglomeration. Cans of butter are treated a la cans of milk, and so on through the whole category of goodies. The unfortunate owner is then told to take up his blanket and walk, which he does, cursing the brute who spoiled, first his luxuries and then his comfort. It is somewhat significant, that Col. Sanderson always received his boxes, and unsearched.

A GREAT LOSS TO THE COUNTRY.

From The Liberator.

It is a most unexpected as well as a very sad task to announce the death of that stalwart friend of the slave, and indomitable champion of universal liberty, Hon. Owen Lovejoy.

Ever since the murder of his brother Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, at Alton, Illinois, in 1837, for attempting to publish an anti-slavery journal in that place, Owen Lovejoy has had the mantle of the martyr resting upon him; and he has worn it with a courage and devotion worthy of the sacred cause of impartial and universal freedom. His biography, if written, and if justice be done to his memory, will present a record of moral heroism, physical endurance, and determined purpose in the service of the oppressed, through all kinds of perils and fearful liabilities arising from mobocratic outbreaks and slaveholding devices, worthy to be handed down to posterity.

Of all the Northern Representatives in Congress who, prior to the rebellion, dared to confront the hotspurs of the South in their attempts to vindicate, extend and perpetuate their hellish slave system, and to meet their bluster and bullying in a manly and fearless spirit, no one since the days of John Quincy Adams has been so conspicuous as himself; and no one has been so hated and anathemized by those hotspurs. It was almost a miracle that he escaped assassination, from session to session.

A few weeks ago, we received the following letter from Mr. Lovejoy, written not for publication but for our private perusal; but, now that he has been summoned to a higher sphere, we deem its publication creditable to his head and heart—especially when he states his determination to move in his place in the House, "if able to be in his seat again," to strike out the prospective word "white" as a qualification for voting—and his congratulatory reference to George Thompson, Esq., whom he hopes to have the pleasure of seing in Washington, and introducing him to President Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., Feb. 22, 1864.

Dear Friend Garrison: I write you, although ill health compels me to do it by the hand of another, to express to you my gratification at the position you have taken in reference to Mr. Lincoln. I am satisfied, as the old theologians used to say in regard to the world, that if he is not the best conceivable President, he is the best possible. I have known something of the facts inside during his administration, and I know that he has been just as radical as any of his Cabinet. And although he does not do everything that you or I would like, the question recurs, whether it is likely we can elect a man who would. It is evident that the great mass of Unionists prefer him for reëlection; and it seems to me certain that the providence of God, during another term, will grind slavery to powder. I believe now that the President is up with the average of the House.

You will notice that the House paid the hundred dollars to the master instead of the slave. And you will have noticed, perhaps, also, that Henry Winter Davis has made a report in reference to Arkansas, where he has put in the word "white" as a qualification for voting. It is my purpose (by the way), if I am ever able to be in my seat again, to move to amend by striking out the word "white." And, if possible, I mean to bring the House to a vote on it, and let them contront the question face to face.

Recurring to the President, there are a great many reports concerning him which seem to be reliable and authentic, which, after all, are not so. It was currently reported among the anti-slavery men of Illinois, that the Emancipation Proclamation was extorted from him by the outward pressure, and particularly by the delegation from the Christian Convention that met at Chicago. Now, the fact is this, as I had it from his own lips: He had written the Proclamation in the Summer, as early as June, I think—but will not be certain as to the precise time—and called his Cabinet together, and informed them that he had written it, and he meant to make it; but wanted to read it to them for any criticism or remarks as to its features or details. After having done so, Mr. Seward suggested whether it would not be well for him to withhold its publication until after we had gained some substantial advantage in the field, as at that time we had met with many reverses, and it might be considered a cry of despair. He told me he thought the suggestion a wise one, and so held on to the Proclamation until after the battle of Antietam.

I mention this as a sample of a great many others. —But I am wandering from my purpose, which was simply to tell you how much pleasure your position gives me.

I am also very glad to see that Mr. Thompson, of England, speaks in friendly terms of the President. If I were acquainted with him, I would write and thank him also; and I hope you will say so to him. I congratulate him and the country on the change which has taken place in relation to slavery since he visited us before, and hope I may have the pleasure of seeing him in Washington during the session of Congress; and will be glad to introduce him to the President.

I have also to thank you for sending me *The Liberator*. During the past sessions, when pro-slaveryism was in the ascendant, I used to read your articles to renew and strengthen my faith.

Very truly yours, Owen Lovejoy.
Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

Heroism in the Household.—Common life is a true and perfect sphere for heroism. There are in the life of every family things that are magnificent and worthy of poetry and history, and that will be chaunted in the other life. There are things in the experience of every household that are essentially heroic, connected with the conduct of parents toward their children, and of the children toward their parents, and of children toward each other. They are not famous, they are not wide-sphered; but, if you measure heroism by the moral quality, by the motive, you will find cradle-side heroism, and bed-side heroism, heroisms of distress and poverty, which are as eminent as any heroism that there ever was on the battle-field, or in the council-chamber. Yes, and ten thousand times more so, because they are accompanied with less excitements and less prospects of sympathy and remuneration. For, in the dull night, alone—oh, alone! at the longest striking of the clock, alone; at its shortest stroke, alone; at its double stroke, alone; at three and four in the morning, alone; with a sick babe, and no one to succor, sits the child of fortune, cultured, exquisite in taste, and sensitive in every moral feeling, as an angel. At last, the longed-for sound, now hated, of the footsteps of him for whom she waits, comes to her ear; and some miserable, dissipated creature wakes the night; and he comes, rude, and red, and round, stumbling into the room; and she, with every feeling harrowed, with every taste offended, with her whole nature outraged, revolts. Yet, it was the first love, it was the only love, it was the husband of her youth, it was *hers;* and she turns to forget her revolting and her shrinking, to meet him, to quiet him, to lead him to his disgraced bed, to put him to sleep, to kneel while he snores in his drunken slumber, and, amid tears, and prayers, and heart-breaking, and anguish, like another angel of God to him, to implore mercy for him. And not her own mother knows it; not her own father knows it; no companion knows it. With her own life she is hiding his deformity. Now, do you tell me there is heroism like that on battle-fields, or in council-chambers? And society is full of heroes of love and domestic fidelity. Thousands of them are unknown on earth. They march in ranks and battalions, so that we speak of them in nouns of multitude, as drunkards' wives. All those that, under such circumstances, lift themselves up above the ordinary line of human conduct are heroic. And God waits for them, and heaven is homesick for them. Oh, how they will shine there! Perchance, as you see them going through the street, meek and patient, their dress growing more and more rusty, you smile pityingly, and say, "They are poor drunkards' wives: they were promising once, but they have gone down, down, down, down; and now they are nowhere." I beg your pardon, they have not gone down. They have been going up. And when you rise, with all your